

1968

# A Rhetorical Study of Selected Radio Speeches of Governor W. Lee O'DANIELOF Texas in Behalf of Social Security Legislation, 1939-1941.

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YAUGER, James T., 1930-  
A RHETORICAL STUDY OF SELECTED RADIO  
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TEXAS IN BEHALF OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGIS-  
LATION, 1939-1941.

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and  
Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1968  
Speech

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1969

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF SELECTED RADIO SPEECHES OF  
GOVERNOR W. LEE O'DANIEL OF TEXAS IN BEHALF  
OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION, 1939-1941

A Dissertation  
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by  
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August 1968

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Sincere appreciation is extended to Dr. Waldo W. Braden, who directed this study.

Appreciation is also extended to William J. Lawson, Reuben Williams, Mrs. Garfield Crawford, and James M. Day without whose cooperation this study would have been impossible.

Further acknowledgment is extended to the staff of the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.



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## ABSTRACT

W. Lee O'Daniel, governor of Texas (1939-1941) championed the cause of social security legislation in the state. This study evaluates O'Daniel's radio speaking in behalf of enabling legislation to finance the three social security amendments to the Texas Constitution approved by the voters in 1935.

The study includes chapters on the historical background of the times, O'Daniel's image building, the broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion, the antecedent action, occasions, and speeches in behalf of social security legislation. Fourteen radio addresses were examined with a particular consideration of their contribution to the ultimate solution of the social security problem in Texas, and to the furthering of the personal political career of the speaker.

The primary source materials were the W. Lee O'Daniel Papers and the W. Lee O'Daniel Radio Scripts located in the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas. Other sources included the House and Senate Journals of the Texas Legislature, 1939-1941, an electrical transcription of an O'Daniel broadcast, and official state documents.

Faced with the reality that Texas legislators were opposed to the passage of social security legislation and to him personally, O'Daniel used his radio broadcasts as a means of coercing and intimidating the legislature into granting his demands. He was unable to attract major support with these tactics, but he was held in almost reverential respect by his regular radio listeners. The governor was no logician, but he knew how to make himself credible to his audience of predominately rural and elderly Texas citizens. He employed ethical and emotional appeal with skill and cunning. In using the two modes of persuasion he frequently relied on music and readings for additional support or emphasis. For his particular audience, however, the O'Daniel image was the most effective means of persuasion which he had at his command.

The appeal of the O'Daniel broadcasts was shown in the thousands of letters written to legislators, the defeat of O'Daniel's opponents in the election of 1940, and O'Daniel's election to high office four times during the years 1938-1942.

A final appraisal of O'Daniel as a speaker reveals that in the fourteen speeches analyzed he used the tactics of coercion and intimidation to bring about the solution



of the social security problem, but that these same tactics delayed the solution. As a politician who furthered his own career through the use of ethical and emotional appeal, and the further appeal of music, readings, and his own image, he was imminently successful.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Economic conditions in the United States deteriorated after 1929, and the resultant depression created serious social problems throughout the nation. One of these was the problem of providing assistance to aged citizens over sixty-five who could no longer earn sufficient money for survival in the difficult times. By 1934 there were 11,587,000 persons unemployed in the United States. Job competition was keen and the elderly citizen was placed at a severe disadvantage.<sup>1</sup>

Public attention was focused on the plight of the aged by the Roosevelt administration, and in 1935 the Federal Social Security Act was passed in an attempt to aid the destitute old people throughout the country. The act gave Federal funds to match state grants for old-age pensions up to \$15 a month, which would provide a maximum of \$30 a month for each pensioner, unless the state wished to increase the amount. By 1938 all states in the union, with the exception of Virginia, had passed legislation

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<sup>1</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1943), Volume 22, p. 687.

calling for a fifty-fifty sharing of pension expenses by state and Federal governments.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the actions of the state legislatures in agreeing to share the burden of old-age assistance should have helped most of the aged pensioners, the average pension in 1938 was only \$19.26, which was far below the \$30 a month maximum allowed by the Federal Social Security Act.<sup>3</sup>

The small pensions provided the elderly led to agitation on the part of various groups for increased pensions. One of the most well-known of these schemes was the Townsend plan which called for Federal pensions of \$200 a month. Several other plans were advanced in the late 1930's for the increasing of old-age pensions, but none were adopted.<sup>4</sup>

Texas pensioners fared worse than those in many of the other states in the nation as they averaged only \$13.74

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<sup>2</sup>Social Security Programs in the United States, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Division of Research and Statistics, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Encyclopaedia Britannica, op. cit., p. 336.

a month in 1938. Of the 112,282 persons receiving old-age pensions in the state, only ninety-one were paid the maximum of \$30 a month.<sup>5</sup>

The low average of old-age pensions in Texas resulted in a great deal of resentment throughout the state because voters had approved an amendment to the state constitution in 1935 improving the benefits to pensioners. The amendment was ratified by the largest vote ever cast in a Texas constitutional election, 444,538 to 108,565.<sup>6</sup> The voters also approved a constitutional amendment creating a teacher retirement fund and program, aid to the needy blind, and aid to indigent children.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately for the pensioners, the Texas Legislature failed to appropriate funds necessary to fulfill the program in the three years following the adoption of the constitutional amendments because of the deficit in the state treasury amounting to \$19,182,838.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Report of the Texas Board of Control for 1938, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

<sup>6</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Constitutional Amendment Election of 1935 in the office of the Texas Secretary of State, Austin, Texas.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Report of the Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, 1938, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

The people continued to be angry with the state's failure to implement the constitutional amendments adopted in 1935. Many pensioners felt degraded by the way the state handled the program of old-age assistance. Kitty Crawford, reporter for the San Antonio Express and wife of Garfield Crawford, publicist for W. Lee O'Daniel, said that state inspectors employed spies to seek out any pensioner who was thought to be earning any outside income which would disqualify him for old-age assistance.<sup>9</sup> The elderly citizens seemed to be losing hope for the improvement of their living standards as time for the election of 1938 approached.

The depression had caused a general lack of business expansion throughout the United States, but one important exception was the development of radio broadcasting. Radio sets in use totaled only 13,000,000 in 1930, but had increased to 40,800,000 by 1938.<sup>10</sup> The new medium permitted the widespread diffusion of political opinion throughout the land.

Texas radio listeners had been fascinated since 1930 by the folksy programs of a Fort Worth flour salesman named

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<sup>9</sup>Letter from Kitty Crawford to writer, July 27, 1967.

<sup>10</sup>The World Almanac for 1949 (New York: New York World Telegram), p. 301.

W. Lee O'Daniel. O'Daniel broadcast "homey" sayings and poetry, coupled with hillbilly music. Gradually he worked tributes to Texas heroes into his broadcasts. After 1935, O'Daniel's appeal to the elderly lay in the religious tone of his broadcasts, and his concern with the downtrodden and unfortunate. He frequently read letters from his listeners, and he offered comfort and hope to those who suffered during this period of history.

O'Daniel had never held any public office, and had never been interested in politics, but in 1938 his fan mail was filled with letters asking him to run for the office of governor of Texas. He ignored the suggestions until he realized his listeners were serious. On his broadcast of Palm Sunday, 1938, he called upon his listeners to let him know by letter if they really wanted him to run for the office. O'Daniel, as well as most of the newspapers of the state, was astounded when he received 54,499 letters requesting him to run, and only four against his running.<sup>11</sup>

The flour salesman entered the governor's race on May 8 and began a grand tour of Texas. O'Daniel called for the full implementation of the social security obligations,

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<sup>11</sup>Sam Acheson, "W. Lee O'Daniel's Own Life Story," in the Dallas Morning News, Chapter I, October 2, 1938, p. 2.

as approved in the constitutional amendments of 1935. The main plank in the O'Daniel platform was his promise to pay all persons over sixty-five a pension of \$30 a month regardless of need. This was a new tactic since the Federal and state old-age assistance programs were based upon actual need and not on arbitrary age.<sup>12</sup>

O'Daniel attracted huge crowds as he traveled across the state with his hillbilly band, repeating his promise to pay all persons over sixty-five a pension of \$30 a month regardless of need. He received little attention from the press, which felt O'Daniel did not have a chance against the twelve seasoned politicians facing him in the contest. Texas newspapers finally realized that O'Daniel's large crowds indicated that he might attract a considerable number of voters, but they were not prepared for the landslide of 573,166 votes O'Daniel compiled in the election. This record majority was more than the total votes of the other twelve candidates, and eliminated the necessity of a runoff.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Social Security Programs in the United States, loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Democratic Primary of 1938 in the Texas Democratic Party Headquarters, Austin, Texas.

As governor, O'Daniel's strategy in attempting to secure a pension tax bill was one of intimidation in which he exerted pressure upon the legislature through the threat of retaliation at the polls. He used his Sunday morning radio broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion to influence his listeners to support his program of coercion by writing their representatives to vote for the bills which O'Daniel favored.

After being sworn in as governor on January 17, 1939, he broadcast a thirty minute program each Sunday morning. In these weekly programs, O'Daniel spoke to a statewide audience. O'Daniel broadcast 130 programs from the Governor's Mansion in Austin, Texas during the years 1939-1941, and a study of the political speeches favoring social security legislation provides the speech critic with a challenging task.<sup>14</sup>

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to present a rhetorical analysis of fourteen radio addresses by Governor W. Lee O'Daniel

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<sup>14</sup>Radio Scripts of W. Lee O'Daniel, January 18, 1939-August 20, 1941, in the W. Lee O'Daniel Papers (Texas State Library, Austin, Texas). Cited hereafter as O'Daniel Radio Scripts.



of Texas as a means of assessing the speaker's effectiveness in employing the available means of persuasion to achieve his dual goal: (1) the passage of a social security bill, and (2) the furthering of his own political career.

#### PLAN OF THE STUDY

The study includes seven chapters. Chapter One, an introduction, sets forth the purpose of the study, states the problem, sources of material, and the standards employed in the analysis of the speeches.

Chapter Two presents a historical background of the times. This information is needed to explain the unusual circumstances which brought O'Daniel national prominence. The Texas political campaign of 1938, the outcome of the election, effects on Texas politics, and the difficulties faced by Governor-elect O'Daniel are also discussed.

Chapter Three is a study of O'Daniel. It begins with a discussion of the O'Daniel image and the methods which the speaker used to maintain it. It progresses to an examination of certain factors which may have contributed to O'Daniel's effectiveness as a radio persuader: experience, appearance, personality, and character, voice and delivery, originality, language and religious attitudes. The chapter also includes

discussions of O'Daniel's philosophy and his methods of speech preparation.

Chapter Four deals with a series of broadcasts known as the Mansion Broadcasts, delivered by O'Daniel during his two and one half years as governor of Texas. It includes an examination of the network coverage involved in the series, classification by types of all surviving scripts, and discussions of the following features of the broadcasts: the hillbilly band, the setting, and the audience, both studio and general.

Chapter V presents a rhetorical analysis of eight radio addresses in behalf of social security legislation delivered by Governor O'Daniel in 1939. Examination of the speeches is focused on three aspects of the speaker's technique of persuasion: (1) means by which he maintained rapport with his audience; (2) means by which he led thought; and (3) means by which he moved to action.

Logical, ethical, and emotional modes of persuasion are investigated. The logical mode is concerned with the speaker's argumentative development. The ethical mode refers to the stress which he placed upon his intelligence, character, and good will in his attempts to make himself credible to his audience. The emotional mode deals with his methods of arousing the feelings of his listeners. The style of the

speeches is discussed in terms of its meaningful contribution to the speaker's persuasive technique. Wherever special features, such as music or readings, occur in a broadcast, their contribution to the speaker's effectiveness is indicated.

To assure continuity and to fix the speeches in point of time and circumstance, each analysis is preceded by a discussion of relevant historical facts. Effectiveness of the preceding speech is included in this discussion. Since there is a lapse of several weeks between speeches, the historical discussion is divided into two sections. The first section, called Antecedent Action, deals with general events occurring in the interval between speeches; the second, called Immediate Occasion, pin-points situations confronting the speaker at the time of the address.

Chapter Six presents a rhetorical analysis of six of Governor W. Lee O'Daniel's speeches in behalf of social security legislation in 1941. The same criteria and methods used in Chapter Five are employed in the Analysis of these addresses.

Chapter Seven includes an over-all evaluation and appraisal of Governor O'Daniel as a public speaker.

## SOURCES AND CONTRIBUTORY STUDIES

The most important of the primary sources are the W. Lee O'Daniel Radio Scripts, and the W. Lee O'Daniel Papers in the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas, which provide the only accurate copies of broadcast speech texts available.

O'Daniel's entire political career has not yet been studied although McKay,<sup>15</sup> Sims,<sup>16</sup> Partin,<sup>17</sup> and Goodwyn<sup>18</sup> have studied the first three years of O'Daniel's Texas campaigns. A brief biography of O'Daniel's life through 1938 was written by Douglas and Miller immediately after his unexpected victory in the Texas Democratic primary,<sup>19</sup> and

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<sup>15</sup>Seth Shepard McKay, W. Lee O'Daniel in Texas Politics (San Antonio: Naylor, 1944).

<sup>16</sup>Archie Sims, The Texas Gubernatorial Campaign of 1938 (unpublished M. A. Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1944).

<sup>17</sup>James W. Partin, Jr., The Texas Senatorial Campaign of 1941 (unpublished M. A. Thesis, Texas Technological College, 1943).

<sup>18</sup>Frank Goodwyn, Lone Star Land: Twentieth Century Texas in Perspective (New York: Knopf, 1955).

<sup>19</sup>C. L. Douglas and Francis Miller, The Life Story of W. Lee O'Daniel (Dallas: Regional Press, 1938).

the Dallas Morning News printed a serialized interview by Sam Acheson dealing with the governor's life and business career.<sup>20</sup> However, no definitive biography of O'Daniel exists.

The only study completed of W. Lee O'Daniel's public speaking analyzed two speeches in terms of the classical canons of invention and style with no evaluation of delivery.<sup>21</sup>

#### AUTHENTICITY OF SPEECH TEXTS

The scripts available for study were carbon copies of actual radio broadcasts of Governor W. Lee O'Daniel. These texts have been described by O'Daniel's private secretary, Reuben Williams, as word for word scripts of addresses actually broadcast during the period 1939-1941. The reason Williams has been so positive in his identification of these scripts as representing the genuine words of the speaker can be explained by the fact that he supervised the copying of original O'Daniel scripts during the years of the broadcasts.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Patricia Cook Nash, A Rhetorical Analysis of Selected Radio Speeches Delivered by Governor W. Lee O'Daniel During the Forty-Sixth Texas Legislature. (unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1964)

<sup>22</sup>Interview with Reuben Williams, September 7, 1967.

One electrical transcription of an O'Daniel broadcast has been obtained, and a comparison with the copy of the broadcast script reveals that the script was textually accurate in every detail.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the evidence of Williams validating the authenticity of the speech texts, and the transcription, additional evidence exists in the complete text of O'Daniel broadcasts printed in the Austin American, Austin Tribune, Dallas Morning News, and the Fort Worth Star Telegram.

A comparison of the complete texts in Texas newspapers with the O'Daniel Radio Scripts shows an almost word for word agreement. The only difference in the radio scripts and the printed speeches seems to be the absence of most of the radio punctuation placed in the broadcast scripts by the speaker.

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<sup>23</sup>O'Daniel Transcription of June 23, 1940, in the files of radio station WBAF, Fort Worth, Texas.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TIMES

This chapter presents a brief discussion of the historical factors which brought about the election of W. Lee O'Daniel as governor of Texas in 1938. The political campaign, issues, candidates, results of the election, and problems faced by the governor at his inauguration are discussed.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE AGED

The economic depression of the 1930's brought about many changes in social legislation in the United States. One major interest in these years was in providing care for the elderly citizens over sixty-five who had suffered during this critical period of American history. Although the Federal Social Security Act entitled those eligible to receive pensions up to \$30 a month, the average pension in 1938 in all states was \$19.26 a month.<sup>1</sup>

Texas pensioners averaged only \$13.74 a month. The Texas Board of Control issued a report in 1938 showing that

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<sup>1</sup>Social Security Programs in the United States,  
loc. cit.

there were 112,282 persons receiving old-age pensions in the state, and of that number only ninety-one were receiving the maximum of \$30 a month. The pensions were allotted on the basis of need as required by the Federal government. This report estimated the number of persons eligible to receive pensions at the end of 1938 would be approximately 281,000 or four and five tenths per cent of the population. The board studied the possibility of adding those persons not on the rolls and stated that "Paying the 126,512 not on the rolls \$30 a month would call for \$45,544.320 a year, which does not include the present demands paid fifty-fifty by the state and federal governments."<sup>2</sup>

The sad plight of the thousands of Texas citizens over 65 had not been ignored by the people of the state. Although the 1938 statistics show only ninety-one persons receiving the maximum pension of \$30 a month, the Texas public was not responsible since it had pressured Governor James V. Allred and the legislature into submitting a constitutional amendment improving the program of old-age assistance in the state. This amendment was ratified by the largest vote ever cast in a Texas constitutional

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<sup>2</sup>Report of the Texas Board of Control, 1938 in the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.



election, 444,539 to 108,565.<sup>3</sup> Governor Allred's administration also succeeded in securing the passage of a constitutional amendment setting up a teacher retirement fund and program, aid to the needy blind, and aid to indigent children. Even though this social security program had been written into the Constitution by the voters in 1935, the legislature refused to appropriate funds needed to make it effective, and as the election of 1938 approached, the social security obligations of the state were still unfilled.<sup>4</sup>

The action of the legislature in failing to provide funds to make the 1935 social security constitutional amendment a reality must be examined in the light of the unusual conditions created by the depression. The expansion of the role of state government during the 1930's had increased the costs of the state to such an extent that revenue was not available to pay for these increased expenses. The state treasurer announced in 1938 that the deficit in the treasury had reached an all time high of \$19,182,838.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Constitutional Election of August 24, 1935, in the office of the Texas Secretary of State, Austin, Texas.

<sup>4</sup>Valdimir O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950), p. 267.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the Texas State Treasurer, Nov. 24, 1938, in the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

The failure of the legislature to appropriate money for the state's social security obligations is understandable in view of the serious financial problem of the state.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1938

The Democratic Primary of Texas was usually the state's major election at this time, and winning in this primary was tantamount to election since there was no Republican Party opposition. This campaign was to prove one of the strangest in Texas history. Thirteen candidates entered the race for governor, and the favorites seemed to be Colonel Ernest O. Thompson, Railroad Commissioner, William McCraw, Attorney General, and Tom F. Hunter, wealthy oilman from Wichita Falls. Interest was added to the campaign by the entry of James A. Ferguson, a cousin of the only Texas governor ever to be impeached.

Even though the candidacy of many of Texas' most well known politicians should have provided the state with a lively campaign, there was little evidence of voter interest through the month of May. The Fort Worth Star Telegram, O'Daniel's home-town paper, carried a brief statement on May 8 to the effect that among the candidates was "W. Lee O'Daniel of Fort Worth, the radio entertainer and announcer." On June 7, O'Daniel opened a tour of Texas. Featured in his campaigning

entourage were a sound truck, the Hillbilly Boys and a female singer whom he called "Texas Rose"; also his three children, Pat, Mike, and Molly.<sup>6</sup>

Newspapers in the early part of the campaign predicted that the race would be between McCraw and Thompson. They ignored O'Daniel. The press outside of Fort Worth did not appear to know O'Daniel was in the race until he took his sound truck across the state in the early part of June.<sup>7</sup>

#### O'Daniel's background

Wilbert Lee O'Daniel had been living in Fort Worth since 1925 where he had been active in the flour business. O'Daniel had been born in Ohio and grew up in Kansas. He had been selling flour twenty years when he came to Fort Worth as sales manager for the Burrus Mills. He was so successful in that capacity that in a few years time, during a period of recession, he increased the sales of the Burrus chain by 250%. He entered the field of radio advertising in 1930 when the Burrus Mills sponsored a program

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<sup>6</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, May 14, 1938.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with Felix McKnight, editor, Dallas Times Herald and only living reporter to cover every O'Daniel speech in 1938, July 3, 1967.

of hillbilly music. O'Daniel's initial contributions to the program were the commercials which he wrote and which the station announcer read. Obligated to substitute for the announcer on an out-of-town tour with the band, O'Daniel discovered that he enjoyed the work and when he and the band returned to Fort Worth he went on the program as its permanent announcer. Gradually his comments shared time with the music. He began to write poems and songs to emphasize and dramatize the themes of home, family ties, and patriotism which he stressed in his talks. Finally he wrote the song "Beautiful Texas" which, when played over the air by the band, quickly became a hit and assured O'Daniel's popularity with Texas listeners.<sup>8</sup>

Over the years O'Daniel received letters urging him to run for governor, but he never seriously considered the idea until 1938. In the spring of that year letters came in ever-increasing numbers asking O'Daniel to run for governor. On his broadcast of Palm Sunday, he asked his listeners to send in letters if they thought he should enter the campaign. The response was overwhelming as he received 54,499

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<sup>8</sup>Marie S. Lilly, "Music Elects A Governor," Etude, 57 (February, 1939), p. 88.

letters asking him to run and only four against the idea.<sup>9</sup> Three of those who were against O'Daniel's making the race said that in their opinion he was "too good to waste himself on the job."<sup>10</sup>

O'Daniel announced on his broadcast of May 1 that he would enter the race. He told his listeners of his lack of political experience, but he stated his plan to campaign on a platform of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule. At this time he made his first promise to obtain pensions of \$30 a month for all persons over sixty-five years of age.<sup>11</sup>

A week later O'Daniel called on his listeners for help in financing his campaign. He said if his friends in radio-land wanted him to make the race on a bicycle while the other candidates were operating in high-powered racing cars, that was up to them. He said he didn't have one dollar in his campaign fund and this lack was the only thing that could prevent him from winning. He suggested that the people who wanted to get their pensions had better start mortgaging their personal possessions so they could make a

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<sup>9</sup>Sam Acheson, "W. Lee O'Daniel's Own Story" in the Dallas Morning News, Chapter 1, Oct. 2, 1938, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup>J. B. McEvoy, "I've Got that Million Dollar Smile," American Mercury, 45 (October 1938), p. 202.

<sup>11</sup>Acheson, loc. cit.

contribution to help defray his campaign expenses.<sup>12</sup>

#### Campaign issues

The principal issues of the gubernatorial campaign of 1938 were the social security obligations, industrialization of the state, economy in government, and regulation of the oil industry. The issue upon which most of the candidates seemed to focus their interest was the problem of securing sufficient revenue to fully implement the old-age pensions as promised in the constitutional amendment of 1935.<sup>13</sup>

Of the four major candidates, Thompson, McCraw, Hunter, and Crowley, not one was able to offer a specific plan for obtaining funds. Thompson spoke vaguely about securing the finances to pay the pensions through the natural increase in wealth brought about by industrialization. Both Crowley and McCraw advocated plans for payment of the social security obligations through existing taxes. Hunter promised a liberal administration of old-age pensions without new taxes, but said he would put a levy on luxuries, if necessary.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., October 4, 1938.

<sup>13</sup>Sims, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>14</sup>Lubbock Morning Avalanche, July 19, 1938.

### Campaign methods

All during the month of May newspapers continued to disregard O'Daniel's entry into the race for governor. The press was startled, however, when a huge crowd appeared at O'Daniel's opening rally at Waco. The Waco Times Herald described the rally as "the largest since Pat Neff closed his race for Governor many years ago, when his opponent was the late Senator Joseph William Bailey."<sup>15</sup> On this occasion O'Daniel again reiterated his promise to secure pensions of \$30 a month for everyone over the age of sixty-five.<sup>16</sup>

After this eye-opening rally the other candidates and newspapers began paying more attention to O'Daniel's campaign. The Fort Worth Star Telegram on June 22 finally printed a long article by its reporter, Robert E. Hicks, in which he said that O'Daniel was drawing larger and more enthusiastic crowds than the other candidates. The article also mentioned that most of the audiences were primarily rural.<sup>17</sup> Concerning O'Daniel Hicks said:

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<sup>15</sup>Waco Times Herald, June 13, 1938.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, June 13, 1938.

O'Daniel frankly is as mystified as his opponents in regard to his large crowds . . . . and admits that he has no poll tax receipt . . . . Pat, Mike, and Molly go along. The boys are in the band and Molly passes the collection plate, a miniature flour barrel. No local dignitary introduces him.<sup>18</sup>

That O'Daniel's opponents had become aware of him as a powerful contender for the office of governor became apparent in late June when criticism of the flour salesman crept into their speeches. They referred to him as a "banjo man", a "flour man", "the big-town hillbilly candidate" who, as one of them said, was neither a hillbilly nor a student of government. In San Angelo, Crowley drew an audience of 183 people compared to the crowd of 8000 which O'Daniel had addressed in the same city the week before. In his speech Crowley referred to O'Daniel as a "carpet-bagger from Ohio" and declared that the flour salesman had never paid a poll tax nor taken part in a Democratic primary in Texas.<sup>19</sup>

O'Daniel ignored most of the mud slinging as he continued travelling across the state astonishing the press with his large crowds. He spoke in Wooldridge Park in Austin

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Amarillo Daily News, June 22, 1938.



on June 28 to a crowd variously estimated at between 22,000 and 40,000. Here he repeated his promise to pay all citizens over sixty-five a pension of \$30 a month, and said he was going to drive the professional politicians out of office.<sup>20</sup>

One spectacular O'Daniel rally was held at Cottonwood Grove, eight miles from the city of Alvarado, which attracted more than 10,000 from a radius of fifty miles. The Fort Worth Star Telegram described this remarkable scene as follows:

Highway 67 was blocked for a mile in either direction from the grove an hour before the scheduled 8 p.m. appearance of the flour manufacturing Fort Worth candidate, and he was forced to reach the grounds and his sound trucks by detouring through a cow pasture on the Jackson farm. The grove was packed with parked automobiles. . . and at the outskirts. . . were many buggies and wagons. . . The flare of gas lamps gave the scene an old time political rally atmosphere, and the old timers were there to appreciate it. 'This is the largest political gathering in Johnson County since Jim Hogg and George Clarke debated near Cleburne in 1892,' W. H. Giffith, resident of the community since 1884, told questioners.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Austin American, June 29, 1938.

<sup>21</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 9, 1938.

A correspondent for the New York Times, en route with President Roosevelt on his campaign tour through Texas, wrote on July 14:

Veteran politicians riding with President Roosevelt through the plains and plateaus of the Lone Star State could talk of no one but W. Lee O'Daniel, 'the Irish "hillbilly flour salesman", who entered a cut-and-dried primary for Governor four weeks ago and threatens to get more votes than all thirteen candidates running against him.<sup>22</sup>

The correspondent said that O'Daniel's radio show, his "homely Will Rogers philosophy", his "astute psychological twist that avoids specific or embarrassing questions", coupled with the huge crowds which have flocked to hear him and drop nickels, dimes, and quarters in a little wooden flour barrel to pay campaign expenses, "all promise a new deal in Texas politics that will plump Mr. O'Daniel in the middle of the national stage."<sup>23</sup>

During the last week of the campaign, several newspapers were predicting the race would be close, and that O'Daniel, Thompson, and McCraw would be favored over the other contenders.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>New York Times, July 14, 1938.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Poll conducted by State Observer, Austin, Texas, July 18, 1939.

Some of O'Daniel's supporters were saying that their standard bearer would win a clear majority. Impartial observers, however, felt this was not likely. They pointed to the 1934 campaign when six contestants had been involved in the gubernatorial race; yet the winner received less than thirty per cent of the total vote. They felt that out of a field of thirteen contestants no one man could possibly win a clear majority.<sup>25</sup>

The evening before election day the Fort Worth Star Telegram said: "the rib-tickling campaign for the Governor's race, daffiest in a decade, ends tonight in a melange of side-show tactics and personalities which left in the slough what few genuine issues there were."<sup>26</sup>

The paper remarked that when the race started, six weeks before, "O'Daniel was probably the least mentioned aspirant." It was only a matter of days, however, until the "electorate jumped up in glee and welcomed O'Daniel with open arms." They described his campaign procedure as follows:

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<sup>25</sup>Houston Post, July 17, 1938.

<sup>26</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 21, 1938.

Accompanied by Pat, Molly, and Mike, his children, who helped entertain, he swung into town without advance political organizing. He set his hillbilly band to playing his own composition, "Beautiful Texas", and launched into a speech, as unchanging as the sea, against the professional politicians. He would talk a while, then turn to his musicians and say, "Let's have some music boys." Texas, to whom novelty is precious, embraced this departure from the roaring lion, shaking-fist type of speech, and everywhere he went the crowds grew and laughed and cheered.<sup>27</sup>

The Fort Worth Star Telegram said that O'Daniel's tactics were quickly emulated by his opponents. As a result "Orchestras, quartets, and similar entertainment appeared on other platforms. It turned into the sideshow primary."<sup>28</sup>

#### Results

Because of the interest in the race created by O'Daniel, the vote in the 1938 election was expected to set a record for a Texas primary and expectation became fact when a total of 1,114,885 votes were cast. O'Daniel won the election easily, receiving 573,155 votes, which was more than the combined total of his twelve opponents. The following statistics were certified by the State Democratic Executive Committee:

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., July 22, 1938.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

W. Lee O'Daniel	573,166
Ernest O. Thompson	231,630
William McGraw	152,278
Tom F. Hunter	117,634
Karl A. Crowley	19,153
Pete D. Renfro	8,127
James A. Ferguson	3,800
Clarence E. Farmer	3,869
Marvin P. McCoy	1,491
Thomas A. Self	1,405
S. T. Brogdon	892
Joseph King	773
Clarence R. Miller	<u>667</u>
Total Vote	1,114,885, <sup>29</sup>

O'Daniel's majority eliminated any necessity for a run-off election.

The radio commentator of the Dallas Morning News, in an article published on July 27, declared that O'Daniel could thank radio for his victory.

Radio's potency in the field of politics, already ably demonstrated in the case of two smashing victories at the polls by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is again brought to the fore by the extraordinary success of W. Lee O'Daniel in the Texas gubernatorial campaign.

To illustrate his contention the commentator told the following story:

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<sup>29</sup>Official records in the office of the Texas Democratic Party, Austin, Texas.

A prominent Dallas attorney, a McGraw supporter, spent the week-end at his mother's home near Weatherford a few days before the election.

'Who are you going to vote for, Mother?' he asked.

'O'Daniel,' she replied.

The lawyer used his best argument to talk her out of it.

'It's no use, son,' the mother firmly replied. 'For eight years I've been having breakfast while listening to the radio with Mr. O'Daniel and I know he's a fine man.'<sup>30</sup>

The Fort Worth Star Telegram had supported Thompson throughout the campaign. On Monday, July 25, however, the editor gave O'Daniel's victory a two column write-up. The paper declared that O'Daniel was in a "tough spot--the toughest any successful candidate for Governor of Texas ever has been in." The editor gave him full credit for a spectacular feat:

He was a comparative newcomer to Texas; he was a beginner in politics; he entered a crowded field in opposition to several of the most popular and most capable campaigners in Texas; he made little attempt to speak to the issues, asking almost literally that the voters give him a completely free hand. This they have done. . . .<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 27, 1938.

<sup>31</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 25, 1938.

O'Daniel, the editor stated, was now loaded with "the greatest responsibility ever put upon a Governor of Texas."

He must justify the faith of the nearly half million Texans. . .who made for him the most spectacular testimonial of confidence ever recorded in the state. . . The mystic, even religious trust imposed in Mr. O'Daniel by a half million Texans demands a diet of miracles.<sup>32</sup>

O'Daniel himself was serene and confident. On his broadcast the day after the election he said:

I feel equal to my task and qualified. I am confident of a brighter day for Texas. . .I humbly bow to the will of the people, accept their mandate, and with the help of God and the cooperation of my good friends and the citizens of Texas, we shall march onward and upward to better days.<sup>33</sup>

During the next few days, O'Daniel, in checking over his records, found that his radio appeal for aid from his supporters, made in the first week of his campaign, had not only brought in enough nickels and dimes and quarters to take care of his expenses but had netted him a profit of over \$800. On August 8, he gave the American Red Cross a check in the amount of \$801.30 with the notation "this being the amount the people donated above my expenses in the race for governor."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>San Antonio Express, August 9, 1938.

### Aftermath of the campaign

After his triumph at the polls, O'Daniel rested at his home and prepared himself for his new job by studying the problems of the state. Although he had won the governor's race without facing a run-off, several candidates for state offices were faced with a decisive second primary in the last week of August. On Wednesday, July 26, O'Daniel announced that he did not intend to endorse any of the candidates in the second primary and was planning to go on a vacation. For some reason, he changed his mind and on his August 11 broadcast he announced that he was endorsing six candidates.<sup>35</sup> It was generally conceded that this act was an open admission of political inexperience. In the past no governor-elect had ever let his personal preferences for state office be known. It was also considered inconsistent by some that O'Daniel should have endorsed Coke Stevenson for lieutenant governor. Pierce Brooks, Stevenson's opponent, said of this endorsement, "I cannot conceive of O'Daniel's supporting Stevenson for lieutenant-governor when all along he has openly declared he was against professional politicians. And surely Stevenson is one."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Dallas Morning News, August 12, 1938.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.



There was talk that O'Daniel's prestige would suffer if his candidates did not win. Others said he had already shaken the confidence of many of his supporters. J. A. Barbre, of Dallas, wired O'Daniel the morning after his August 11 speech. He said, "A friend of mine bet me a mule the day after you were nominated that you would make a fool of yourself before you were inaugurated. I am delivering him his mule."<sup>37</sup> John C. Wood of Big Sandy wired: "Big Sandy gave you 312 out of 433, believing we were getting a Moses, but instead we now have a Judas . . . We are going to see that the men you endorsed get the ax here."<sup>38</sup>

The results of the election showed that O'Daniel's endorsees had won four out of six offices. As a consequence, William M. Thornton, staff correspondent of the Dallas Morning News, said "His prestige is dented and the legislature may not be nearly as responsible to him as if his slate had gone through unscratched."<sup>39</sup>

O'Daniel's prestige was to receive another dent at the State Democratic Party Convention in Beaumont September 13. The O'Daniel journey on board a special train was

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<sup>37</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 13, 1938.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Dallas Morning News, August 29, 1938.

pleasant with the governor-elect standing on the rear platform wearing a red shirt for addresses at small towns along the way. His speech at the morning session was also well received. The good feeling among the Democrats prevailed through an afternoon banquet featuring the music of O'Daniel's hillbilly band. In the evening, however, dissension developed over a proposed platform plank calling for the legislature to provide money for the payment of \$30 a month pensions to any person over sixty-five years of age. This proposal was, of course, introduced by O'Daniel supporters who wanted the convention to go on record as favoring the nominee's stand on the pensions. Convention Chairman Tom Connally called for a vote on the motion and it was defeated.<sup>40</sup>

After the defeat of the pension plank, there were calls from the floor of the convention for O'Daniel to explain his views on the issue. In response to the pleas of his friends, O'Daniel appeared on the stage during the roll call, and was greeted with a tremendous chorus of boos and catcalls. He left the stage, but was persuaded to make one more attempt to address the convention. The second appearance of O'Daniel prompted shouts of "No", and he

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<sup>40</sup>Beaumont Enterprise, September 14, 1938.

left the convention without having spoken a word at the evening session.<sup>41</sup>

As a result of the convention's treatment of O'Daniel, newspapers began to discuss the possible implications of this act upon the new governor's relations with the legislature. William N. Thornton of the Dallas Morning News revealed the general press reaction to O'Daniel's convention experience when he said:

The howling down of the party choice a few hours after his nomination was the first instance of its kind in the history of Texas politics and has caused a new sensation in capitol circles. Those who knew the past could hardly believe the Beaumont reports. . . . O'Daniel was a pathetic figure at the height of the tumult as he looked on bewildered.

Unless a popular wave of resentment sweeps the state at the way a Democratic convention treated its candidate for governor, O'Daniel will have hard sledding with the legislature.<sup>42</sup>

The bitter two and one half year long feud between O'Daniel and the combined forces of the legislature and the press had its origin in the Beaumont convention. People heard O'Daniel's version of the convention and his reaction to the publicity resulting from the convention

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., September 16, 1938.

when, on September 15, he made an unscheduled address on the "Crazy Crystals Mineral Water" program. He revealed his opinion of Texas law-makers when he told his audience that "some wolves in sheep's clothing are trying to cheat you old folks out of your pensions."<sup>43</sup> He made clear his annoyance with the newspaper versions of the Beaumont affair when he said:

Pandemonium reigned. The chairman was not respected. His heavy gavel fell on the table again and again with no effect on quelling the howling and disorder. Sergeants at arms were unable to handle the unruly delegates. The telephone at my headquarters was so busy that many could not get a connection and they rushed over in groups asking for advice and urging that I go before the convention at midnight and try to restore order and explain exactly what I had advocated. ---- I appeared and offered to comply with the requests of many of the delegates by saying a few words to the convention. The chairman was unable to restore sufficient order to permit me to be heard, therefore I declined to attempt to speak.<sup>44</sup>

O'Daniel also told his listeners that the Democratic convention was "planted full of howling, disgruntled, defeated professional politicians and their henchmen."<sup>45</sup> This broadcast indicated how the governor's relations with the press and the legislators were to fare in the coming months of his administration.

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., September 16, 1938.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

During the month of October, there were more indications that O'Daniel would have trouble in carrying out his legislative program. In the campaign, he had emphasized that he intended to run the professional politicians out of Austin and would replace them with an advisory cabinet of business men. These business consultants were supposed to advise the governor as a board of directors and would formulate policies which would be passed on to the legislators.<sup>46</sup> C. L. Harris, representative from Spur, showed his attitude toward O'Daniel's advisory board when he said:

While Mr. O'Daniel may have good intentions, evidently he desires to ignore the legislature. At the same time he casts reflections upon both its sincerity and ability, assigning these two qualifications only to himself and his board. There is no provision in the Constitution for such a board which would be setting up a super-government in place of democracy.<sup>47</sup>

Senator Clay Cotton of Palestine expressed legislative dissatisfaction with the plan when he said: "It won't take more than sixty days for him to learn that the legislature runs things in this state."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., September 15, 1938.

<sup>47</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, October 12, 1938.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., November 30, 1938.

In spite of obvious legislative disapproval of the advisory cabinet, O'Daniel proceeded to hold a meeting with the group on December 5, 1938. The members were guests of Glen Walker, Fort Worth insurance man, at a luncheon in the Hotel Texas. O'Daniel again showed his disregard for the legislature and the press by failing to hold an open meeting. He did permit interviews with newsmen after the meeting adjourned, and told reporters that the board was unanimous in backing him in his program. This was the first and only meeting of the board.<sup>49</sup>

#### Preparation for the governorship

The intent of O'Daniel to make good on his promise to pay everyone over the age of sixty-five a monthly pension of \$30 was unshaken as the last months of 1938 drew to a close. O'Daniel spent the time remaining before his inauguration in searching for some method of taxation to raise the necessary revenue for the pensions. Among the plans studied were a sales tax, income tax, tax on bank accounts, increased property tax, and oil and sulphur taxes. He was unable to make a decision and, at the end of October, announced he had "no preference."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., October 12, 1938.

<sup>50</sup>Dallas-Morning News, October 30, 1938.

One important critic of O'Daniel's pension plan was Elliot Roosevelt. The son of President Franklin Roosevelt, in a broadcast over the Texas State Network of twenty-three stations, of which he was president, had this to say of O'Daniel's promise to get a \$30 pension for every one over sixty-five: "Now is the time for the older generation of the country to realize that they have been following tin gods who did not hesitate to play with fire in order to further their own selfish ambitions for political power."<sup>51</sup>

Late in December, O'Daniel announced that he had chosen Judge Roy Bean, famous for his handling of legal affairs west of the Pecos, as the model he would use "in the conduct of the affairs of state during his term as governor." In a further announcement, O'Daniel declared he would not fight for any legislation while it was before the members. He said that when he had told the legislators what he wanted done, then it would be up to them to assume all responsibility. He said:

I think it would be improper for the governor to seek to interfere with the legislative processes by lobbying for his own legislation or attempting to interfere in the methods which the Legislature might employ in dealing with his recommendations.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, January 1, 1939.

O'Daniel told the people that if they read in the newspapers that the governor was involved with the legislature over the passage of certain legislation, they could know that it was not true. He had no constitutional authority to battle with the legislature, he said, and he did not intend to do so. He said, however, that the citizens did have the right to battle with the legislature

and I expect they will keep informed of the progress of certain legislation, and battle with them if they think it necessary or advisable--in fact, I may take part in keeping the people informed of things which I consider of interest to those who voted for me. . . .<sup>53</sup>

The inauguration of the governor

Members of the Forty-sixth Legislature met in Austin on January 10, 1939, and, after completing the task of organization, began preparations for the inauguration of the governor.<sup>54</sup> O'Daniel announced on his Sunday broadcast of January 15 that he would travel to Austin by automobile on Monday, expecting to reach his destination at 2 p.m. He invited all the people of Texas to the inauguration, which was to be a homecoming of common citizens.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Texas, Regular Session of the Forty-sixth Legislature (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Co., 1939), p. 4.

<sup>55</sup>Austin American, January 16, 1939.



The trip from Fort Worth to Austin was a triumph for O'Daniel as huge crowds greeted him along the route. Captain John Reed of the Texas Highway Patrol estimated the throngs of people along the road at more than 250,000. The O'Daniel party was forced to stop several times as the crowds blocked the highway. After being delayed by the various unscheduled stops, the O'Daniel party finally reached Austin where another huge crowd, estimated at 100,000, greeted the governor-elect.<sup>56</sup>

The day of the inauguration, January 17, was sunny and mild, and the Forty-sixth Legislature had made an unusual decision to hold a special session at the University of Texas football stadium for the inauguration. The decision of the legislature was wise as some 60,000 persons crowded into the stadium to witness an inauguration unparalleled in Texas history for its pageantry and splendor.<sup>57</sup>

At noon the joint session of the two houses of the legislature began. Ex-Governor James V. Allred introduced O'Daniel. The new governor made a brief address and

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., January 17, 1939.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., January 18, 1939.

told the legislature that he would speak to them in detail on the following day.<sup>58</sup>

In a long speech on January 18, O'Daniel addressed the legislature, and explained his plan for raising revenue. He called for a transactions tax of one and six tenths per cent on all business transactions within the state, with certain exceptions. Charitable institutions, salaries, wages or professional fees, first sales of all producers of agriculture and livestock products, street-car passenger fares up to ten cents, and street sales of newspapers would not be taxed. He also proposed the abolition of the ad valorem tax, and the tax for paying Confederate veterans' pensions. To cover any losses sustained by the school fund from revenue derived from the ad valorem tax, O'Daniel would give it the money obtained from the cigarette tax. In an important part of the address, O'Daniel revealed he had changed his mind about giving everyone in the state over sixty-five a pension, as he called for pensions of \$30 a month to be given to those whose income was below this amount. He also submitted a

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<sup>58</sup>Journal of the Senate of the State of Texas, Regular Session of the Forty-sixth Legislature (Austin: Von Boeckman-Jones Co., 1939), p. 82.

draft of a constitutional amendment and a draft of a bill to implement his proposals for payment. The governor estimated that the transactions tax would provide the state with \$45,000,000 a year, which would pay for all the social security obligations.<sup>59</sup>

#### Public reaction

The response of the members of the legislature to O'Daniel's proposed transactions was generally unfavorable. Senator Joe Hill of Henderson was unequivocally against the bill. He said of it: "It is a victory for the predatory interests that for the last twenty years have been trying to put over a sales tax." Representative Joe Keith of Sherman implied that O'Daniel's plan was designed to favor the oil, gas, and sulphur industries when he said: "The oil, gas, and sulphur companies should be glad to see a speech of that sort emanate from the governor, for it is a virtual assurance that no new taxes of that type will be imposed." Senator L. J. Sulak of La Grange said:

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<sup>59</sup>W. Lee O'Daniel's Message to the Forty-Sixth Texas Legislature, January 18, 1939, in the Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

I am disappointed in the governor's message in that he failed to recommend equal pension payments to all over sixty-five years old, as he advocated in his campaign. I am opposed to the transactions tax. This tax would increase cost of living anywhere from 6 to 10 per cent. I especially am opposed to the governor's proposal to remove ad valorem taxes from the wealthy out of state interests and place it on the backs of the Texas consuming public. . . .

Representative G. C. Morris of Greenville said: "I am against his ad valorem suggestion and I am afraid the transaction tax is pretty close to a sales tax."<sup>60</sup>

Public opinion across the state appeared hostile to the governor's transactions tax. The Dallas Central Labor Council and the Dallas Manufacturers and Wholesalers Association informed the governor and their representatives that they were bitterly opposed to the O'Daniel tax plan. A Dallas banker estimated that if the governor's bill was passed Dallas alone would have to pay \$32,000,000 "to the pot."<sup>61</sup>

The Greenville Banner said of O'Daniel's plan: "The transactions tax has all the earmarks of being a tax far more dangerous and with the possibilities of more damage to the average citizen than a mere sales tax."

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<sup>60</sup>Dallas Morning News, January 19, 1939.

<sup>61</sup>The Texas Weekly (Dallas), January 28, 1939.

The Big Spring Herald was of the opinion that O'Daniel "was in for some rough times with his transactions tax. . . . The chances of his bill coming through the legislature intact are remote indeed."<sup>65</sup>

The Austin American on January 22 stated that letters and telegrams to members of the legislature from their constituents indicated that "the folks back home are strong against the O'Daniel plan."<sup>66</sup>

O'Daniel appeared unperturbed by the attacks on his tax plan. On his first radio program from the Governor's Mansion on Sunday morning, January 22, he told his listeners of the "bombshell" he had thrown into the legislature and said it had been fun "to sit on the sidelines and watch the critics howl." He told his audience that he expected his plan to cause a lot of discussion. It was an important subject, he said, and it was but natural that it would excite extended discussion. He also told his listeners that Henry Ford had given him a new car and had suggested that he come to Detroit and run for governor of Michigan. The new governor implied that in the interest of industrialization it might be better if Henry Ford came to

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Austin American, January 22, 1939.

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#### SUMMARY

In the spring of 1938 W. Lee O'Daniel was a popular flour salesman whose radio programs of hillbilly music and "homey" philosophy had become familiar over the preceding eight years to millions of listeners throughout Texas. Urged by his radio fans to run for governor O'Daniel entered the 1938 race announcing his candidacy on May 8. He was running as a dark horse and as the thirteenth candidate in a campaign already under way.

In announcing his candidacy O'Daniel said he would run on a platform of The Ten Commandments and The Golden Rule and promised if elected to secure pensions of \$30 a month for every person over sixty-five years of age. He campaigned from a sound truck, taking his hillbilly band and his three children with him. His rallies were a mixture of politics and fun and wherever he went the crowds gathered to listen, to join in the sing-songs, to laugh, and to applaud. Unnoticed when he first entered the race,

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<sup>67</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, January 22, 1939, reprinted in Austin American, January 23, 1939.

O'Daniel became the talk of Texas. He won the race by a landslide, polling more votes than the total of all twelve of the other candidates.

Three weeks after his election the governor-elect jeopardized his popularity with the public by endorsing six of the twelve candidates for state office in the fall primaries. He went on the air to defend his action and to urge support of his endorsees and four of his six candidates won their races. He said that was "a good batting average in anybody's league", but political observers claimed O'Daniel's inability to assure election of all of his nominees indicated a loss of following. When the governor-elect was howled down in his attempts to speak at the State Democratic Convention at Beaumont in September they predicted he was going to have a difficult time in carrying out his program. Prior to the Beaumont convention O'Daniel had represented the professional politicians to the people as their chief enemies. After the convention he added to his list of offenders the press of the state which, he said, had deliberately tried to deceive the people of the state by magnifying the incident at the convention out of all proportion to its true significance.

Following a spectacular inauguration on January 17, 1940 O'Daniel on the next day addressed the joint session

of the legislature and presented his program. He called for a transactions tax of one and six tenths per cent on all business transactions within the state, proposed abolition of ad valorem taxes, and revealed he had changed his mind about giving everyone over sixty-five a pension as he called for pensions of \$30 a month to be given only to those whose income was below this amount.

In general reaction to O'Daniel's proposal was not favorable. O'Daniel, however, on his first radio broadcast from the Governor's Mansion on January 22 seemed unperturbed and enjoying his new role.



## CHAPTER III

### THE O'DANIEL IMAGE

The chapter is concerned with various aspects of the O'Daniel image. The initial section describes O'Daniel's entry into politics with emphasis on his long-range strategy, his campaign tactics, foreshadowings of trouble, and the unbeatable combination of "God, the people, and me -- with thanks to radio."<sup>1</sup> Factors which contributed to the speaker's effectiveness are also discussed: experience, appearance and personality, creativity, language, religious attitudes, and voice and delivery. The chapter is further concerned with O'Daniel's methods of speech preparation and his philosophy of radio.

### ENTRY INTO POLITICS

#### Long-range strategy

The records of history, coupled with a study of the O'Daniel speeches made before and after his election, indicate that long before he entered the gubernatorial race of 1938 O'Daniel had seen in the people themselves the means of bringing to an end the social security stalemate of the past three years.

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<sup>1</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, September 18, 1938.

O'Daniel knew that a governor had limited power since he was able to propose but not to pass tax measures. He knew the present governor had not been able to put the social security program, written into the constitution of 1935, on a workable basis because of legislative resistance. He had no reason to believe that any other governor would have less difficulty than Governor Allred in securing legislative cooperation.

O'Daniel saw the legislators as the tools of special - interest groups who did not want the social security program to become operative because of the high taxes involved.<sup>2</sup> Motivated by this conviction he came to the conclusion that, in the interest of a worthy cause, drastic tactics were justified. He was aware of the potential for persuasion which existed in the people. As he said in one of his speeches, "There is no power more forceful than public opinion."<sup>3</sup> He decided, therefore, that the most effective way to assure the necessary pension tax measure was by means of pressure exerted on the law-makers by the voters.

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<sup>2</sup>In the Mansion Broadcasts he repeatedly indicated that such was his opinion.

<sup>3</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, September 18, 1938.

O'Daniel had confidence in his ability to cope with the administration of state affairs. As he began to consider the possibility of becoming governor it seemed no more difficult to him than embarking on any other new and untried job.<sup>4</sup> He knew that he had a great capacity for hard work. He knew, moreover, that he had been successful in the management of his own business. He felt assured of divine help. Under these circumstances he was convinced that he could, if placed in a position of public power, correct some of the situations which were causing humiliation and suffering to many Texas citizens.<sup>5</sup>

In order to carry out his plan of legislative intimidation O'Daniel realized that he must have the full support of the people. He must have a large following of loyal and obedient co-workers who would follow without question any orders which he might, in the pursuit of his proposed strategy, make upon them. He was not sure that he had that support. He saw that he must determine the attitude of the people toward him before committing himself to an active role in the political campaign that was already beginning to shape up.

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<sup>4</sup>Dallas Morning News.

<sup>5</sup>Acheson, op. cit., Chapter XLIII, Sept. 25, 1938.

In his Palm Sunday broadcast O'Daniel put his listeners to a test by asking them to let him know by letter or post card if they would like to have him run.<sup>6</sup> He received the assurance which he needed in 49,499 messages petitioning him to offer himself as a candidate.<sup>7</sup> He now knew the people were behind him. On May 8 he announced that he would seek the office.<sup>8</sup>

#### Campaign tactics

Throughout his radio experience O'Daniel made a practice of reading his fan mail. In his early years on the air he studied the letters sent him by listeners as a means of getting acquainted with his audience. From his mail he learned the type of material which was most successful in selling his product. Music, he learned, was unfailingly effective. So, too, were "homey" philosophy, sermonettes, and sentimental poems on the themes of home, family ties, and patriotism. He built his broadcasts along these lines, undertaking to give the listeners what they wanted as a means of assuring their continuing patronage

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., Chapter L, October 2, 1938.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., Chapter XVI, August 31, 1938.

<sup>8</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, May 8, 1938.

of his particular brand of flour.<sup>9</sup>

As O'Daniel read the letters which he received in response to his Palm Sunday request, he saw that his listeners had, through eight years of listening to his programs on the air, acquired a definite impression of him as a man. He saw that they believed him to be a devout Christian, a kind and sympathetic person, one who was trustworthy and dependable, and one who had a genuine interest in the welfare of the common citizens of Texas. Among their letters, to substantiate his conviction, he found the following comments:

I do not know your politics but it doesn't make any difference to me. I know you have the right spirit toward humanity.

It seems you leave nothing undone or unsaid in trying to help your fellow man.

If we can get you in the Governor's office, the poor people of the State of Texas will get some consideration.

We need a governor who realizes the poor man's position.

Your programs show the fruits of a good life guided by our Master.

If you were put in the Governor's office and you were to say 'I will do so and so and I will see that you get so and so, Boy, we would get it!'<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., Chapter XXI, September 4, 1938.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., Chapter XLV, September 2, 1938.

The comments gave O'Daniel a clue to the image which he needed to maintain in order to assure himself of the continued support of his fans. Since it was an image which had resulted from specific tactics he saw no reason to discontinue such tactics. When he went on his barnstorming campaign tour of Texas, he took his hillbilly band with him. He encouraged the audience to join the soloists in singing his own compositions, "Beautiful Texas," "Sons of the Alamo," and songs which he wrote for the campaign, "Them hillbillies is Politicians Now" and, to poke fun at the professional politicians, "I Hate Mountain Music." He talked politics to the people, stressing the fact that he intended if elected to run the affairs of state on a business rather than a political basis. He also managed to inject into his campaign speeches the same type of humor and the same type of philosophy that had characterized his commercial programs. He sought to entertain as well as to inform his listeners and was so successful in his efforts that crowds massed wherever his sound truck stopped, and O'Daniel homilies and O'Daniel songs were suddenly on the lips of people the length and breadth of the state.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, June 29, and July 22, 1938.

O'Daniel made repeated pleas for adherence to the principles of the Christian religion, urging that the citizens of Texas join him in taking for their guide the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule. He said he knew many trained politicians would think he was mixing religion and politics and, he admitted, they were right. He said history had proved that everytime people got too far away from the teachings of Christ they got into trouble. He said if he got to be governor and every one of Texas' six million citizens would try as hard as he would try to cooperate every word and action, every day, in all matters, with the teachings of Christ, then Texas would make progress that would astonish the nation.<sup>12</sup> O'Daniel said he knew that many people were scoffing at him. Undoubtedly, he added, there were people who scoffed at David, too, when he went out to face Goliath with nothing but a pebble and a sling-shot.<sup>13</sup>

O'Daniel's primary contention was that Texas was able to and should pay its social security obligations. He implied that mismanagement of state funds was responsible for

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<sup>12</sup>Acheson, Chapter L, October 2, 1938.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

the failure of the assistance program to date. He said he had often wondered where the \$150,000,000 required to run the state came from and where it went and promised, in the event of his election, to find out and make a report to the people.<sup>14</sup>

O'Daniel told his listeners that the professional politicians had "muddled" the social security situation. He said the pension law had become a political football and that tax money which should properly go to pay old-age assistance was being absorbed by administrative expenses. He was particularly resentful of the methods by which the Social Security Board established the eligibility of the pensioners. He said the Board hired a vast horde of "gumshoe inspectors." He declared that some of the inspectors, or "whippersnappers" as he called them, spent \$4 a day trying to figure out a way to lop \$4 a month from a pension check. He repeated over and over that he intended to make the basis of pension payments age and not need.<sup>15</sup>

O'Daniel ridiculed the idea that the state was not financially able to meet its social security obligations.

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<sup>14</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 23, 1938.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.



He declared that Texas, if its resources were properly developed, could take care of the needs of the entire world.<sup>16</sup> He declared that industrialization was the long-range solution to the state's financial crisis. When pressed for an immediate solution he was evasive. Later events indicate that O'Daniel favored a system of heavy taxation as a means of meeting the state's pension obligations.<sup>17</sup> He apparently felt that the tax payers might not look with favor upon such a program and consequently refused to be pinned down to an outright declaration of his plans to secure the necessary pension funds. Instead he said he would get the money from the people that had it. He implied that the wealthy people of the state were exploiting the less fortunate citizens and, in a story drawn from his childhood, indicated the role he expected to play in correcting the situation. He told that one of his first jobs on his stepfather's ranch was that of slopping the hogs. He said there was plenty of slop for all the hogs, but he noticed after a while that there were a few big, slick, black hogs that kept chasing the little hogs away from the trough. The

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<sup>16</sup>Houston Chronicle, July 17, 1938.

<sup>17</sup>O'Daniel's speech to the joint session of the legislature, January 18, 1939 in the file of The O'Daniel Papers, State Archives, Austin, Texas.

fat hogs got fatter, he said, and the thin hogs kept getting thinner. Finally the fat ones just got in the trough and laid down and the thin ones couldn't get a bite until he took a club and ran the fat ones off. Then he said there was food enough for all and the hogs did fine.<sup>18</sup>

O'Daniel proved that he was well able to defend himself against the petty criticism of his opponents. When they found out he had not paid his poll tax for six years they made much of the fact. O'Daniel, however, adroitly turned the barb of their attacks back upon them when he said no politician was worth \$1.75.<sup>19</sup>

When his opponents ridiculed his first name of Wilbert, O'Daniel put them to shame in a few emotion-charged statements. He said:

My mother, who slaved over a washboard for 50¢ a day, gave me that name and I resent these professional politicians criticizing her for it. Criticize the name if you will but remember she named me for the groceryman at Arlington, Kansas who gave her a basket of groceries and I feel honored to bear the name of that kind of man.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Acheson, Chapter XLIII, September 25, 1938.

<sup>19</sup>New York Times, July 14, 1938.

<sup>20</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1938.

In a similar way he defended himself against the charge that he was not a native Texan but was, as they said, "a Yankee from Ohio." O'Daniel admitted that he had been born in Ohio because "that was where my mother happened to be at the time." He said he just had not known any better than to be born in Ohio whereas some of his critics had been more politic and had seen to it that they were born in Texas. He said he was not the first Ohioan who had made a contribution to Texas history. He mentioned the fact that Ohioans had presented to Texas the famous "Twin Sisters" cannon which played a part in the war for independence from Mexico. He said, moreover, that Ohioans had been among the men who fought at San Jacinto and among those who died at the Alamo.<sup>21</sup>

In the closing week of the campaign O'Daniel intensified his criticism of the professional politicians. He referred to the campaign as "the polecat alley of the professional politicians." He said that when he got to be governor he was going to run out of Austin all who came under that classification. He said: "Out at the blind school there are a lot of my friends who can see a lot

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<sup>21</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 13, 1938.

farther than some of these professional politicians."<sup>22</sup> At a rally in Fort Worth the evening before the election O'Daniel told his audience he had been informed that supporters of his opponents would spend \$1,000,000 in an attempt to keep him from being elected. He said the professional politicians were scared and were paying five hundred influential men and women in every big city in Texas to try to defeat him.<sup>23</sup> He said the common citizens, with him as their candidate, were going to put to the test the question of whether or not they could put their man in office or would money and politics dominate?<sup>24</sup>

The next day the common citizens met O'Daniel's challenge to their influence and gave their candidate the most definitive victory ever recorded in the history of Texas politics.<sup>25</sup>

#### Foreshadowings of trouble

Three weeks later O'Daniel, by endorsing six candidates for state office, became involved in a storm of protest which temporarily threatened his popularity with

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<sup>22</sup>Austin American, June 29, 1939.

<sup>23</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 28, 1939.

<sup>24</sup>Acheson, Chapter I, October 2, 1938.

<sup>25</sup>cf. Chapter II, p. 28.

the public. He became headline news in most state papers. He was also the recipient of many letters condemning his endorsement of professional politicians and suggesting that he was trying to set up a dictatorship.

O'Daniel immediately took to the air to defend his action. On August 16 he told the people that he felt he had "made a good buy for the old folks" by reason of the fact that all six of the candidates he favored had pledged their support of his old-age pension policy. He denied any intent to build a political machine and said he had been motivated in his action by a feeling of obligation to the people of Texas "to carry out the mandate they gave me to organize a business administration for the state." He urged his listeners to support the candidates under consideration at the coming primary.<sup>26</sup>

In later speeches O'Daniel continued to campaign for the candidates whom he had endorsed. He told his listeners that his opponents were trying to humiliate him by organizing to assure the defeat of his endorsees. He begged the people to stand by him:

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<sup>26</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 16, 17, 21, 1938.

Do not let side issues lead you away. It goes without saying that you have the right to vote for whomsoever you please. But if you want me to pay the old-age pensions and do the other things I promised, why not give me the men I prefer, and men of experience and ability to do the things I want to have done, and the things they have promised me faithfully they will do for me in carrying out my program?<sup>27</sup>

On the night before the election O'Daniel told his listeners that the pension program would be "seriously jeopardized" by the defeat of his candidates. On the other hand, he said, "Victory will practically assure prompt payment of \$30 a month to all over 65."<sup>28</sup>

A poll conducted by the Dallas Morning News indicated that criticism of O'Daniel's action declined sharply with each radio broadcast. Findings of the poll seemed confirmed by letters written to O'Daniel.<sup>29</sup>

One listener wrote: "Will drop you a few lines of apology for the letter I wrote you the other day. You was right and I was wrong. Since your address over the radio yesterday I am convinced that I am wrong so please forgive me." Another said: "When you endorsed those

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Dallas Morning News, August 21, 1938.

candidates I thought you had doublecrossed the people. But since I have had the time to study it over I can see where I was wrong. I am as strong for you as ever. Stay with 'em!" Still another said that after O'Daniel endorsed the candidates practically everybody he talked to was against the nominee-elect. Lots of them had voted for O'Daniel in July but felt he had made a mistake in indicating his choice of candidates. He then said: "But here comes the good part. After your radio talk Tuesday lost of them changed their minds and your talk today changed a lot more. So the outlook here is pretty good."<sup>30</sup>

Since only four of O'Daniel's six candidates won their races, it was plain that the governor-elect had not been able completely to control the vote of the people. He professed himself well pleased, however, and said that "four out of six is a good batting average in anybody's league." He read the expressions of restored confidence and cited them as proof that the citizens of the state recognized that "a new day has come for Texas." He said the people realized he was approaching the governorship as a business man and that they were willing to give his

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<sup>30</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 20, 1938.

methods a try for at least two years.<sup>31</sup>

On the occasion of the Beaumont Convention O'Daniel did not appear greatly disturbed by the fact that he was howled down when he attempted to speak. On the return trip he went through the train shaking hands with everyone. He said he had enjoyed the convention.<sup>32</sup> He became furious, however, when he saw the newspaper accounts of the convention. Heretofore he had consistently named the professional politicians as the foes of the common people. Now to his list of offenders he added the press. He said: "It is necessary that I come to you by radio because so much of the information printed in the newspapers is not true. In my opinion it is published for the sole purpose of misleading the common citizens of Texas." He said the people would do well to ignore newspaper accounts of his activities and get their information direct from him by means of his broadcasts. He told them:

As long as we have newspapers in this State that print things that are not true and things which are printed for the sole purpose of misleading their readers, the common citizens have very little hope except in doing what they are now doing: staying with the leader they selected by such an overwhelming majority.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 20, 1938.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., September 18, 1938.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., September 19, 1938.



A report from the Texas State Board of Control, relative to the administration of the old-age pension system in Texas, came to O'Daniel in September. It revealed that O'Daniel's plan of paying pensions to all persons over sixty-five might deprive the state of federal assistance since the Social Security Act and the appropriation acts which made funds available for grants could be used only "for aid to needy individuals." The report stated: "The Social Security Board has interpreted these provisions to mean that investigation must be made into the need of each applicant and that assistance must be granted in relation to that individual's need." The report further showed that under O'Daniel's proposed pension plan 281,000 persons, or four and one half per cent of the total Texas population, would be added to the tax rolls in 1939. The report stated: "Paying the 126,512 not on the rolls \$30 a month would call for \$45,544,320 a year, which does not include the present demands paid fifty-fifty by the state and federal governments."<sup>34</sup>

After studying the report O'Daniel, for the first

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<sup>34</sup>Report of the Texas Board of Control, September 1938, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas.

time, conceded that he might not be able to keep the letter of his promise to the people. He sought to prepare them for the possibility when, on October 29, he told his radio audience:

Since under the federal laws certain requirements of need must be met before the United States will match dollars with us, it must be evident that not all 65-year-olds in the state will get the full \$30. In other words, those who cannot convince the government they are needy may not get federal money.<sup>35</sup>

O'Daniel declared, however, that he still intended to do all in his power to see that the state paid its part in full and to get the federal government to match the state's payments. He assured his audience that "paying a pension of \$30 a month to those who have passed the age of 65 is to be the first order of business in my administration."<sup>36</sup>

The unbeatable combination

To convince his audience of his dedication to their cause O'Daniel revealed that shortly after his election he had been offered a job with an advertising company at a

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<sup>35</sup>Dallas Morning News, October 30, 1938.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., September 15, 1938.

salary of \$2000 a week for the twenty-five weeks preceding his inauguration. Concerning the job he said: "It was explained that all musical talent would be furnished and that I might talk about anything I desired to talk about, including the boosting of Texas, and that a commercial announcer would make all the commercials."<sup>37</sup>

O'Daniel said the offer was a bona fide one from a reputable advertising agency and that there were no strings attached to it. He said the \$50,000 involved looked mighty good to him since it was twice as much as the governor's job paid in two years. He explained his reasons for turning down the offer in the following manner:

I refused to put a price on my services and I will tell you why. I have a big job ahead of me and I intend to put in all my time between now and inauguration studying for the job, without pay, because I intend to make you the best Governor Texas ever had.<sup>38</sup>

In return for his dedication O'Daniel asked the full cooperation of his listeners. He was determined to get pensions as promised. He could do it, however, only if the people helped him. He said that if they would stand behind

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., September 18, 1938.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

him he believed "we will be paying the old-age pensions in full in 1939." He warned his listeners against falling away from him. If only a few changed their positions, he said, it might mean the loss of old-age pensions and "other things we have promised during the campaign." Whatever happened he said, right or wrong, "we should be all means stick together."<sup>39</sup>

O'Daniel did not, prior to leaving for Austin, make clear to his listeners just what he expected of them in the way of help. In his final speech from Fort Worth he did give a clue to his plan of action and the people's role in it. He said that whereas he had no constitutional right to fight with the legislators over any bill, the people who elected them had that right. He indicated that he would use his weekly radio broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion as a means of keeping his listeners informed of what was going on in governmental matters. If the need arose he would call on them to come to his aid and would direct them in a course of action.<sup>40</sup>

The thought which O'Daniel seemed most intent upon conveying to his listeners was that he and they were

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<sup>39</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, August 20, 1938.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., December 31, 1939.

partners in his political venture. In varying words, at different times, he told them again and again that his governorship was not to be a one-man proposition, and that he was depending on them to help carry out his plans. At one point he said: "The next administration is not going to be 'Me and God.' It is going to be 'God, the people, and me--thanks to Radio.'"<sup>41</sup> He seemed to feel the combination should prove unbeatable. He was right. His statement might well be considered the theme of the administration and also of the series of broadcasts with which the present study is concerned.

#### FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO O'DANIEL'S EFFECTIVENESS

Following O'Daniel's victory at the polls, a radio commentator made the statement that his success was attributable to radio, but not so much to the power of radio itself as to the use which O'Daniel made of the medium. The commentator pointed out that other campaigners had used radio, too, but had fallen far short of O'Daniel's persuasive power.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., September 18, 1939.

<sup>42</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 28, 1938.

It seems undeniable that O'Daniel had a talent for gaining interest, leading thought, and moving to action. He had no formal academic education, being a product of the Salt City Business College of Hutheson, Kansas. He had never had a lesson in public speaking and what he knew of persuasion he had learned as a salesman by a trial and error method.<sup>43</sup> He could win and hold listeners, however, and he could influence them to support him, even when his course represented a far departure from ordinary decorum. He was what has been termed a "natural" speaker.

It seems relevant at this point to discuss certain factors which may have contributed to O'Daniel's effectiveness as a radio persuader.

#### Experience

Certainly O'Daniel was no novice in the field of radio speaking when he suddenly appeared in the political arena. He had an advantage over his opponents in that whereas they had used the microphone too little to feel entirely at ease before it, it was to O'Daniel a familiar ear into which he had been talking every day for eight

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<sup>43</sup>Acheson, Chapter V, August 18, 1938.

years. He had learned the little tricks of his trade: the importance of addressing his audience as an individual or a small group in an intimate and neighborly manner and in a simple and conversational style; the advisability of repeating important material to accommodate listeners who might not hear the entire program; the necessity of relating to an audience through familiar themes; the possibility of achieving dramatic and emotional emphasis by means of music and poetry. By speaking he had learned how to speak. Accustomed to reading from scripts he had learned not to rattle his papers. He knew better than to shout into a microphone. He had learned how to adjust his material to the time element. Whereas his opponents were amateurs as radio speakers, O'Daniel was a professional and an expert in the field.

#### Appearance and personality

Although appearance would not ordinarily be important in carrying conviction to a radio audience in O'Daniel's case it probably played a part. Many of his broadcasts were given before large visible audiences and there were undoubtedly innumerable persons in his radio audience who were familiar with him through his tours, special programs at fairs, and through his campaign rallies. Under the circumstances it seems reasonable to assume that his physical

appearance must have been a consideration in impressing his listeners.

Walter Davenport described O'Daniel as "rather nice-looking, well set-up, with a tendency toward the portly."<sup>44</sup> Kitty Crawford said O'Daniel was the kind of man you would notice first in a crowd: "big and brawny, standing six feet in his sturdy shoes."<sup>45</sup> She said he was dark and powerfully built and that his appearance face to face was "startingly aggressive."<sup>46</sup> William J. Lawson, O'Daniel's press secretary during his tenure as governor, noticed the striking quality of his eyes the first time he saw O'Daniel. Years after the meeting he said: "I was mesmerized when I looked into his eyes. I didn't know whether he was a madman or a genius. It turned out he was a genius."<sup>47</sup> A reporter for the New York Times, en route with President Roosevelt in his campaign caravan, said of O'Daniel: "He dresses like a Northern business man. He looks like a twin brother to Harry Heilmann, the old Detroit Tiger outfielder. . . ."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Walter Davenport, "Where's Them Biscuits, Pappy?" Colliers, 105 (January 6, 1938), p. 22.

<sup>45</sup>Crawford, loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>New York Times, loc. cit.



One reporter for the Dallas Morning News wrote that O'Daniel was intelligent and "an interesting and agreeable man with whom to associate." Another said: "He loves people. He likes to meet people and mingle with them; to rub elbows with the great as well as the lowly."<sup>49</sup> Walter Davenport described O'Daniel as "ebullient as a brand new ten-thousand-dollar-gusher."<sup>50</sup> Kitty Crawford observed O'Daniel at close range for many years. Shortly after his election in 1938 she said: "Sympathy may rightly be taken as the crux of the new governor-elect's character for his private and political life revolves around his love of people."<sup>51</sup> A.M. Herman, attorney for Radio Station WBAP, who had many personal clashes with O'Daniel, said of him: "He was gentle and kind."<sup>52</sup> Lawson said: "He was a humanitarian and realized that something had to be done to help old people."<sup>53</sup> Radio Guide in 1938 analyzed O'Daniel in the following manner:

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<sup>49</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 27-30, 1938.

<sup>50</sup>Davenport, loc. cit.

<sup>51</sup>Crawford, loc. cit.

<sup>52</sup>Interview with A. M. Herman, attorney for the Fort Worth Star Telegram and Radio Station WBAP, June 8, 1967.

<sup>53</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

W. Lee O'Daniel has a heart as big as a bushel basket and half the people in Texas know it. Early in his Fort Worth career, friendless people, the jobless, the sick, and the world weary, unfortunates of all kinds, beat paths in the Texas earth to his home and office. When he could help them he did help them, unstintingly asking nothing in return.<sup>54</sup>

### Creativity

During his pre-political years in radio O'Daniel had been obliged to write much of his own material in order to meet the insatiable demand of a daily broadcast. He said of this experience that it made a poet and song writer out of him. He claimed that prior to 1938 he had written 150 poems and songs.<sup>55</sup>

O'Daniel's popularity increased considerably after he composed "Beautiful Texas" and used it in his broadcasts. He declared that he wrote the song while riding the interurban between Dallas and Fort Worth, a distance of thirty miles. He said he first composed the words and then hummed a tune to go with the words. When he returned to Fort Worth, he whistled the tune to a member of the hill-billy band and the band member promptly set it to musical script. Later, the song was published by the firm of

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<sup>54</sup>"A Hillbilly Licks the City Slickers," Radio Guide, August 13, 1938.

<sup>55</sup>Acheson, Chapter XXI, September 3, 1938.

Shapiro, Bernstein and Company. Major Bowes featured it on his national radio program and it eventually became a hit as a recording.<sup>56</sup>

In commercial radio O'Daniel acquired a facility in writing material for special occasions. His skill became an asset to him in his political experience since he was able to enhance his own ethos and to inject drama and humor into his rallies by means of songs pertinent to the campaign. Among these were "Them Hillbillies is Politicians Now" and the song which he wrote to taunt his opponents "I Hate Mountain Music." O'Daniel's ability as a writer was confirmed in 1937 when he was invited to become a member of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers.<sup>57</sup>

#### Language

O'Daniel's language made a definite contribution to his effectiveness since it enabled him to relate easily, immediately, and pleasantly to his listeners. His language was that of the people themselves: plain, simple, and in

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<sup>56</sup> Lilly, loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup> Acheson, Chapter XXI, September 14, 1938.

the vernacular. He was known for his colorful expressions. These, however, were not as a rule original expressions but were colloquialisms or folk sayings, flattering to the people because of their familiarity and rich in emotional connotations. He liked to use alliteration and could when he chose give passages a rhythm that came close to the rhythm of poetry. What he had to say was often made memorable because of the way in which he said it.

#### Religious attitudes

Letters from O'Daniel's listeners indicate that one of their main reasons for trusting him was the fact that he was a good Christian man. It is plain, therefore, that his religious attitudes were a help to him in his attempts to make himself credible to his audience. O'Daniel's mother was a devout, church-going woman who apparently exerted a profound influence on her son. She was a member of the Disciples of Christ church and this was also the church of O'Daniel's choice. William J. Lawson, O'Daniel's Press Secretary, said of him: "He was deeply religious and attended church regularly."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Personal interview with William J. Lawson, July 25, 1967.

O'Daniel claimed that his mother lived by the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule and when he entered the 1938 campaign he declared that this was the platform on which he would run. He said he only hoped this simple, God-given platform would govern many more political contests and administrations in Texas and declared his intention always to be true to the teachings of his early childhood.<sup>59</sup> On January 17, 1939 when he was sworn in as governor he said: "It was the teachings of my hardworking, religious mother that prepared me for a happy life of service based on faith in God."<sup>60</sup>

#### Voice and delivery

Newspaper reports of O'Daniel's campaign indicate that he led the audience in the sing-songs which were a part of his public appearance rallies. Reuben Williams declares, however, that O'Daniel never performed on the air as a singer with the exception of singing "Happy Birthday" to his daughter on a 1937 broadcast.<sup>61</sup> Lawson confirmed

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<sup>59</sup>Acheson, Chapter IV, August 14, 1938.

<sup>60</sup>Time, January 30, 1938, p. 14.

<sup>61</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

Williams' statement that O'Daniel was no crooner.<sup>62</sup>

O'Daniel's ordinary voice was deep and masculine, carrying impact and authority. According to Kitty Crawford, it was a good voice to start with and it had been improved and polished during his years in radio, "cunningly softened to strike your ear most persuasively."<sup>63</sup> It was, according to one newspaper reporter, "an assured voice, trained to radio delivery."<sup>64</sup>

W. P. Watts, campaign manager for Attorney General Mann in the 1938 campaign, said of O'Daniel's delivery: "The most striking thing about his voice was that it contained a tremulo. O'Daniel could make his voice sob when he read emotional passages in a script. It was this quality that made him effective."<sup>65</sup>

McEvoy commented on the fact that O'Daniel had learned "that a microphone is an ear and not an auditorium." McEvoy also noticed the tremulo in O'Daniel's voice. He said: "Lads who have watched him broadcast for years tell

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<sup>62</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

<sup>63</sup>Crawford, loc. cit.

<sup>64</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, June 29, 1938.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with W. P. Watts, Austin, Texas, July 18, 1967.

me that he can turn on the laughter or the tears with equal ease at the slightest provocation."<sup>66</sup>

A recording made in Austin on July 23, 1940 reveals further information about O'Daniel's delivery. It confirms the statements of friends and observers that O'Daniel had a deep, resonant baritone voice, which he used with flexibility. His pronunciation and articulation were excellent with no trace of Texas or Kansas "twang." The recording also helps to explain why many of O'Daniel's listeners believed him to be a minister. His delivery resembled that of radio preachers of the 1930's and 1940's. The writer's first impression upon hearing the recording was that he was listening to Reverend E. F. "Brother" Weber who spoke over a network of radio stations and was a contemporary of O'Daniel. The delivery definitely suggested preaching.

The rate of speed with which a speaker delivers an address is also an important factor in the success of a radio speech. Williams, who frequently held a stop-watch on the governor, said O'Daniel spoke at an average rate, usually around 150 to 160 words per minute. His timing was apparently exceptional for Williams said: "O'Daniel

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<sup>66</sup>McEvoy, loc. cit.

had an uncanny sense of timing--he hit right on the nose."<sup>67</sup>

One other aspect of O'Daniel's delivery was his concentration during the broadcast. Lawson, who was present at over one hundred of the Mansion programs, said: "O'Daniel held the script tightly as he read. He did not waste a second. No gestures were used and he was most intense in concentration. He ignored the crowd and spoke directly into the microphone, cocking his head to one side as he read."<sup>68</sup>

#### SPEECH PREPARATION

O'Daniel was not only qualified to write all his own speeches but was able to turn out reams of script in a comparatively short time and without undue effort. Kitty Crawford said that her husband, Garfield Crawford, sometimes helped O'Daniel with suggestions and research.<sup>69</sup> Williams said that O'Daniel remained interested in his fan mail as a source of ideas for speeches. Williams read all the stacks of letters which came to the O'Daniel office

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<sup>67</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

<sup>68</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

<sup>69</sup>Crawford, loc. cit.



and wherever he found something which he thought might be of interest to the governor he marked it in red pencil. Williams believed that

some of his best ideas came from letters sent in by listeners. Many letters had good thoughts written on a five cent tablet and misspelled. The people felt that O'Daniel was their friend and sent him their ideas on how to solve a difficult problem. Often they were right and the ideas were used by the governor in constructing his speeches.<sup>70</sup>

If ideas came to O'Daniel at his office he jotted them down and then dictated them in final form. Usually, however, he sat down at the typewriter and "pounded it out." He said he wrote just as he would talk "because that is what I am doing in each program."<sup>71</sup>

Kitty Crawford believed that O'Daniel's intimate, conversational style was one of the secrets of his success. She said: "His ability to write 'talk' and not 'script' was one of his unique talents." She said he could "talk off" any material as though he were conversing. "You see," she said, "he had been talking intimately and informally to a few million radio listeners for years before he ever ran for governor."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

<sup>71</sup>Acheson, Chapter XXI, September 3, 1938.

<sup>72</sup>Crawford, loc. cit.

O'Daniel was able to compose under almost any circumstances. Felix McKnight said he saw him, as governor-elect, sit on an apple box in the midst of his dismantled Fort Worth home and write his inaugural speech, completely unaffected by the movers and well-wishers and reporters who crowded around him.<sup>73</sup>

When O'Daniel became governor, he was forced to write a script of each speech in order to satisfy station requirements. The broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion were never ad libbed as were some of his programs in the early 1930's. Williams said O'Daniel kept a typewriter in his bedroom at the Governor's Mansion and would work when his regular day's work was done and when other members of the family had retired. Williams said he could work all night, catch a few minutes sleep, and be ready at seven o'clock for a full day at his office.<sup>74</sup>

Once the script was finished O'Daniel maintained a proprietary interest in his creation, and did not want to give a copy to his press secretary. Lawson said it was impossible for him to obtain a copy of the script from the

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<sup>73</sup>McKnight, loc. cit.

<sup>74</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

governor until it was polished. The Mansion Broadcasts were aired at 8:30 each Sunday and Lawson, as press secretary, did not receive a copy of the script until noon Saturday. O'Daniel disliked newspapers and kept the speeches from being typed as long as he could. Lawson was instructed not to distribute copies of the speech to newsmen until after the Sunday broadcasts.<sup>75</sup>

#### O'DANIEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RADIO

O'Daniel's philosophy of radio embodied two aspects and is summed up in the phrase: to help others while helping self. Harold Hough, manager of Radio Station WBAP of Fort Worth, remarked on this characteristic. In referring to his pre-political years in radio Hough said:

He worked in a bit of cheer for the down-and-outer, a little sympathy for those in trouble, laughed with those who enjoyed good fortune, but he remained the practical business man, watching the dollars and cents and keeping close tab on costs.<sup>76</sup>

His tactics of selling while serving were not always apparent to his co-workers at WBAP, but results usually

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<sup>75</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

<sup>76</sup>Douglas and Miller, op. cit., p. 102.

proved that O'Daniel's strategy was sound. His Saturday morning broadcast was dedicated to school children and was frequently marked by a little lecture on safety. From the Saturday morning broadcasts emerged the now familiar traffic warning which few people probably realize originated with O'Daniel: Always walk on the left-hand side of the road facing oncoming traffic. Hough said he had been impatient with O'Daniel's safety program and couldn't see how his telling little boys and girls to walk on the proper side of the road could possibly have anything to do with selling flour. Later he said: "He was always several steps ahead of all of us. He was a personality whose every idea was a hit."<sup>77</sup>

In this particular case O'Daniel's idea not only helped to sell flour but later, when he entered politics, it also helped to elect him. One of the letters which he received in reply to his Palm Sunday request was from a truck driver. The writer said he was out on the highway every day and as he met the school children carefully walking on the left-hand side of the road facing approaching traffic he always thought of O'Daniel. He said he felt

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

O'Daniel had saved many a young life in his safety programs and for that reason alone should be the next governor of Texas.<sup>78</sup>

O'Daniel sought to serve his audience by making his programs as interesting and entertaining and inspirational as he could. He was also alert for any unusual way of giving aid and comfort to others. On one of his programs he made a plea for drinking fountains on the exhibition grounds of the Southwestern Exposition and Fat Stock Show in Fort Worth. After he became governor, the Fort Worth Star Telegram published the following account of his plea: "He painted a brief but heart rending picture of boys and girls tramping all over the grounds, panting of thirst, their allowance too small to cover soft drinks and carnival rides both." As a result of O'Daniel's broadcast drinking fountains, and signs to reveal their whereabouts, were installed on the grounds.<sup>79</sup>

Following the New London school disaster of 1937, when hundreds of school children were killed in a gas explosion, O'Daniel dedicated a program to the relatives

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<sup>78</sup>Acheson, Chapter XLV, July 28, 1938.

<sup>79</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, March 12, 1941.

of the disaster victims. Not only did he express his own sympathy but he urged his listeners to do the same by mailing cards and letters to those affected by the disaster. To show their appreciation many of the parents wrote to O'Daniel and asked if he would draft epitaphs for the tombstones that would mark the graves of their dead.<sup>80</sup>

On another occasion O'Daniel issued a plea for the adoption of orphans. So successful was the project that it resulted in the emptying of orphanages all over the state.<sup>81</sup>

While trying to use radio as a means of serving others O'Daniel was, as Harold Hough indicated, ever alert to its utilitarian potential. During his years as a flour salesman he used the medium to help him amass a fortune estimated at half a million dollars.<sup>82</sup> When he entered politics, he used it to secure funds to finance his campaign and votes to assure victory. When he became governor, he used it to accomplish his political strategy and to further his personal ambitions.

As governor, O'Daniel's efforts on behalf of the people were centered in attempts to secure passage of a pension tax bill. His personal concern was somewhat

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<sup>80</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 27, 1938.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>McEvoy, loc. cit.

different from that of his pre-political experience in that whereas before he had been interested in dollars and cents he was now interested in political power. His viewpoint had shifted and his scope had widened. Essentially, however, his philosophy remained the same. He was still trying to help others while doing the very best he could for W. Lee O'Daniel.

#### SUMMARY

W. Lee O'Daniel ran for the office of governor of Texas on the basis of his belief that he could, with the help of the people, coerce the legislature into passing the tax bill needed to assure payment of pensions to all persons over sixty-five years of age. To gain support for his program, and to assure his own political future, O'Daniel conducted himself in such a way as to maintain the people's image of him as a kind and sympathetic Christian gentleman who was reliable and trustworthy and who had a genuine concern for the plight of the common citizens. Factors which contributed to O'Daniel's effectiveness as a radio persuader were: experience, appearance and personality, creativity, religious attitudes, language, and voice and delivery. O'Daniel wrote all his own speeches, often utilizing ideas sent him in letters from his fans.

He wrote most of them in his bedroom at the Mansion, sometimes working all night to get a script ready for the next morning. He would not permit distribution of the scripts to newsmen until after his broadcast. O'Daniel's philosophy of radio embodied two aspects and is summed up in the phrase: to help others while helping self. During his commercial radio experience he gave entertainment, aid, and comfort to his audience while making a small fortune for himself. When he entered politics, he used radio to assure funds to finance his campaign and votes to assure his election. As governor he used it to implement for payment his promised old-age assistance, and to further his personal political ambitions.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE MANSION BROADCASTS

Chapter IV deals with a series of broadcasts known as The Mansion Broadcasts and delivered by O'Daniel during his two and a half years as governor of Texas. It includes an examination of the network coverage involved in the broadcasts, classification by types of all available scripts, and discussions respectively of the governor's hillbilly band, the immediate setting of the broadcasts, and the audience, both studio and general.

### NETWORK COVERAGE

O'Daniel's plan to continue his radio broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion received support from the state's two networks, the Texas Quality Network and the Texas State Network. Elliott Roosevelt, president of the Texas State Network and spokesman for both chains, announced on August 24, 1938 that thirty minutes per week of free air time would be given to O'Daniel. The arrangement, Roosevelt said, would permit the governor to address the citizens of Texas each Sunday morning, "giving them an outline of his policies and plans."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., August 24, 1938.

The two networks carrying the broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion totalled twenty-three stations and gave O'Daniel excellent radio coverage throughout the state.

The most powerful stations were those of the Texas Quality Network, which had carried O'Daniel's regular 12:30 broadcasts since 1935. Three stations of this network, WBAP Fort Worth, WFAA Dallas, and WOAI San Antonio, were powerful 50,000 clear channel stations which were able to transmit over long distances.<sup>2</sup> The remaining members of the Texas Quality Network were: KPRC Houston, KGNC Amarillo, KFDM Beaumont, and KRIS Corpus Christi. Although these four stations were less powerful, they were located in large population centers throughout Texas.<sup>3</sup>

The sixteen stations comprising the Texas State Network were, with the exception of two 5000 watt stations, WRR Dallas and KFJZ Fort Worth, small 250 watt local Stations.<sup>4</sup> Even though fourteen of the sixteen Texas State Network stations were short range stations, they permitted the reception of the O'Daniel broadcasts in the smaller cities scattered across the state and surrounding rural

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<sup>2</sup>Letter from Roy Bacus, Manager, Station WBAP.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Coverage Map of the Texas State Network, 1939, in the files of Station KFJZ, Fort Worth, Texas.

areas. The complete list of Texas State Network stations shows that valuable coverage was given the O'Daniel broadcasts by this additional network.

#### Texas State Network

Abilene	KRBC
Amarillo	KFDA
Austin	KNOW
Big Spring	KBST
Dallas	WRR
Fort Worth	KFJZ
Lubbock	KFYO
Midland	KFLH
Paris	KDLT
San Angelo	KGKL
San Antonio	KABC
Sherman	KRRV
Temple	KYEM
Texarkana	KCMC
Vernon	KVWC
Waco	WACO 5

The key stations which transmitted the broadcasts to the other member stations of the networks were WBAP Fort Worth, for the Texas Quality Network, and KNOW Austin for the Texas State Network.<sup>6</sup>

These network arrangements did not remain constant through the years of the O'Daniel Mansion series of broadcasts as stations were added or dropped from the networks

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts.

carrying the programs. The first serious change in the series inaugurated January 22, 1939 came in October of that year when O'Daniel and Station WBAP became involved in an argument over the content of the broadcasts. WBAP asked the governor to furnish it with an advanced copy of his broadcast of October 22 in compliance with the broadcast code of the National Association of Broadcasters dealing with the airing of controversial material. O'Daniel refused to submit an advanced script. As a consequence WBAP did not carry his broadcast of October 22 nor any of his subsequent broadcasts.<sup>7</sup>

After this loss of WBAP and the Texas Quality Network, O'Daniel managed to obtain a new outlet through radio station XEAW in Reynosa, Mexico. This station exceeded in power and range any station in the United States and made possible the reception of the O'Daniel broadcasts throughout the state.<sup>8</sup>

The use of XEAW in Mexico forced O'Daniel to use electrical transcriptions for delayed broadcasts on Sunday evenings. Transcriptions were also made by several other stations carrying the broadcasts, satisfying the National

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<sup>7</sup>Austin American, October 16, 23, 1939.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with Joe Fooshee, Engineer, Radio House, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, July 24, 1967.

Association of Broadcaster's code requirement for an advanced copy of the script.<sup>9</sup>

As a result of the change in scheduling resulting from the WBAP controversy, the following stations carried the broadcasts in the last few weeks of the governor's tenure in 1941:

KNOW and the Texas State Network 8:30 to 9:00 A.M.  
 KPRC--KFTO--KGKB--XEAW 8:30 to 9:00 A.M.  
 KTBC--KRLD--KLUF--9:30 to 10:00 A.M.  
 KNEL 10:00 to 10:30 A.M.  
 KFRO 8:30 to 9:00 P.M.  
 KWFT 8:15 to 8:45 A.M.  
 XEAW 8:00 to 8:30 P.M.  
 KVIC 8:30 to 9: A.M.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting to note that O'Daniel made excellent use of powerful XEAW in carrying the regular 8:30 A.M. live broadcast and the repeat broadcast at 8:30 P.M.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF SCRIPTS

Governor O'Daniel broadcast 130 programs while in office from 1939 to 1941. Of these only seventy-seven scripts survive in the files of the O'Daniel Papers in the Texas State Archives at Austin, Texas. Fourteen of the surviving broadcasts have been chosen as representative of the

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<sup>9</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, March 10, 1941, May 19, 1941.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., April 20, 1941.

series and their formats and contents are analyzed in detail in Chapters IV and V. The present section represents a general classification according to theme or subject matter of the entire collection of surviving scripts.

During the 1938 campaign O'Daniel had advocated the industrialization of the state. After he became governor he continued to publicize Texas as an excellent area for the expansion of American industry. In five of the broadcasts he discussed the merits of the state as a possible site for factories. In four others he praised already-thriving industries: the cattle industry, the dairy industry, the poultry industry, and the rose industry.<sup>11</sup>

Eighteen of the surviving scripts dealt with legislation which O'Daniel favored.<sup>12</sup> Six concerned the advisability of calling a special session of the legislature.<sup>13</sup> One, in which O'Daniel inaugurated his program of legislative coercion, was an attack upon special interest groups.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts: Dec. 3-10, 1939; Dec. 12, 1940; Jan. 21, 1940; Feb. 4, 1940; Feb. 25, 1940; March 10-17, 1940; March 31, 1940.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., March 19, 1939; April 16-23-30, 1939; Feb. 9-16-23, 1941; March 9-16-23-30, 1941; April 6-13, 1941; May 7-28, 1939; June 4-11-25, 1939.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., Oct. 8-15-22-29, 1939; Nov. 5-19, 1939.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., April 2, 1939.

Two dealt with plans to avert the crisis resulting from pension cuts.<sup>15</sup>

Three of the scripts covered miscellaneous subjects: Will Rogers, the beginning of school, and the sanctity of the home.<sup>16</sup> One was a plea for the abolition of capital punishment.<sup>17</sup> One urged that the United States stay out of the European war.<sup>18</sup>

In his pre-political radio broadcasts O'Daniel had always built his programs, wherever possible, around special occasions and religious holidays. As governor he continued the practice, commemorating the following religious and special days: Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, Easter, San Jacinto Day, Texas Independence Day, Memorial Day, Honor Student's Day, National Independence Day, Armistice Day, New Year's Day, National Defense Day, and Mother's Day.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., September 24, 1939; October 1, 1939.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Nov. 3, 1940; Sept. 8, 1940; Feb. 9, 1941.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Feb. 5, 1939.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., November 12, 1939.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., Nov. 26, 1939; Dec. 19, 1939; March 3-30, 1940; April 21, 1940; May 5-14-30, 1939; May 12, 1940; June 16-30, 1940; July 27, 1941; Nov. 12, 1939; Dec. 31, 1940.

Of the available scripts seven were concerned with discussions of fundamentalist religious beliefs. In them O'Daniel urged his listeners to live closer to God and follow the teachings of Jesus Christ.<sup>20</sup> Eleven of the scripts dealt with educational matters and covered the following subjects: school safety, economy in government, availability of state funds for educational purposes, the sale of public lands, the Waco Orphans' Home, the importance of audience participation in government at local and county levels, and law enforcement.<sup>21</sup>

Of the surviving 1941 scripts four were of particular interest. One set forth the conditions on which O'Daniel would consider resigning his office to run for the United States senatorial post left vacant by the death of the Honorable Morris Sheppard.<sup>22</sup> Two dealt with aspects of O'Daniel's campaign for the senatorial position.<sup>23</sup> One,

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., May 21, 1939; June 1-22-29, 1941; Oct. 6, 1940; Feb. 2, 1941; Aug. 13, 1941.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., Oct. 15-30, 1939; July 19-16-30, 1939; Aug. 13-20, 1939; Jan. 5, 1941; Sept. 3, 1939; Dec. 10-17, 1939.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., April 27, 1941.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., July 13-30, 1941.



which represented the final broadcast of the series, was a report to his listeners of his accomplishments as governor.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE HILLBILLY BAND

The format of O'Daniel's Mansion Broadcasts, like that of his commercial programs, required the services of a hillbilly band. O'Daniel's sons were members of the band, Pat playing the violin and Mike the guitar.<sup>25</sup> Other members, according to the scripts, were Leon, Horace, Happy, Klondike, and Texas Rose. Leon was described as the "sparkplug" of the group. Not only did he manage the band but he was its featured male vocalist and "an ace yodeler".<sup>26</sup> Throughout the 1939 broadcasts he and Texas Rose appeared regularly on the programs as vocal soloists. Sometimes all of the band members sang together and occasionally Horace or Klondike were soloists.

Leon and Texas Rose were actually Leon Huff and Kitty Williamson. They had been with O'Daniel during his 1938

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., August 3, 1941.

<sup>25</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 26, May 4, 1940.

campaign and were well known to Texas audiences, both live and radio. His opponents claimed that in public appearances O'Daniel relied heavily on Leon to rescue him from embarrassing situations and that his response to touchy interrogations on governmental issues was to turn to the band member and say "Sing, Leon, sing!" The expletive as quoted by his adversaries carried the implication of evasiveness under pressure.<sup>27</sup>

Early in 1940 Texas Rose left the band. In May three other members, including Leon and Horace, resigned. The May resignations seemed to take O'Daniel completely by surprise. He charged that professional politicians had lured "the boys" away from him. His charge seemed confirmed when O'Daniel's three hillbillies appeared in the entourage of Jerry Sadler, contender for the office of governor in the forthcoming election. O'Daniel promptly secured replacements and the band continued to function throughout the Mansion series.

The importance of the band on the O'Daniel broadcasts and the significance of music in his tactics of persuasion is indicated in the wide publicity given the resignation of the hillbillies in May. So closely was the band identified

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<sup>27</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 26, 1940.

with the governor that when it began to break up O'Daniel critics pointed to its dissolution as portending the loss of the governor's hold on the public fancy.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE IMMEDIATE SETTING

The room from which the broadcasts emanated, habitually referred to by O'Daniel as "our front room," was described as "the large, high-ceilinged, gold-and-crystal-walled drawing room, on the first floor and to the right of the main entrance hall, of the Governor's Mansion." It was the room in which governors and their ladies had for eighty-five years received their guests.

On the walls of the room hung portraits of Richard Coke, governor of Texas in the 1870's and Michael B. Menard, signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence, and one of the framers of the Constitution of the Republic of Texas. It was a large room with oyster-white ceilings and a gilt cornice. Long, heavy, gold moire draperies at enormous windows added to the impression of height. It was, the announcer of the first Mansion Broadcast declared,

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., May 4, 1940.

"high enough for the boys to fly a kite in."<sup>29</sup>

Contrary to magazine descriptions of the radio equipment O'Daniel used only one microphone. Lawson said "if anything had happened to it we would have been off the air."<sup>30</sup> Photographs of a program in progress show that O'Daniel stood immediately in front of the microphone with members of the band bunched around and behind him.<sup>31</sup>

O'Daniel made his appearance minutes before the program was due to be aired. As the audience was gathering, the band, standing in an area immediately opposite the chairs set up to accommodate the listeners, played and sang some of the hymns which they habitually used on the broadcasts.<sup>32</sup> The scripts revealed that favorites on the programs were: "Faith of our Fathers", "Sweet Hour of Prayer", "Just as I am", "Bringing in the Sheaves", "When the Mists Have Rolled Away", "Jesus Savior, Pilot Me", and "Come to the Church in the Wildwood."

O'Daniel's entrance was a signal for silence. The band bunched in their position around and behind the governor. Precisely at eight thirty the announcer gave a signal

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<sup>29</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, January 23, 1939.

<sup>30</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.    <sup>31</sup>Williams, loc. cit.    <sup>32</sup>Ibid.

and the band began to play.<sup>33</sup> Against the muted strains of the theme, "Home Sweet Home", the station announcer said: "And as is usual at this hour each Sunday morning we switch you to the Governor's Mansion at Austin, Texas for a visit with the friendly voice of Governor W. Lee O'Daniel." O'Daniel then gave his customary greeting: "Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, and hello there, boys and girls. This is W. Lee O'Daniel speaking . . . ."<sup>34</sup>

#### STUDIO AUDIENCE

The drawing room of the Governor's Mansion accommodated about two hundred people. Each Sunday morning the room was filled to capacity, with the audience seated on folded chairs. Loudspeakers were placed on the outside of the Mansion to accommodate those who were unable to find seating or standing room inside.

The broadcasts from the Governor's Mansion were popular and people from all over the state, as well as from other states, visited Austin to hear O'Daniel speak. They were habitually well behaved and respectful.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, January 23, 1939.

<sup>34</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, January 22, 1939.

<sup>35</sup>Lawson, loc. cit.

The composition of the audience was not what it was sometimes described as being in published articles of the time. Williams and Lawson agree that some old people with bibles in their hands did attend the program. Both men state, however, that the audience was made up largely of tourists and office seekers. Photographs show that among the former group were such important and famous people as Alexander Woolcott, David Rubinoff, and the president of Krafts Foods Corporation.<sup>36</sup>

#### AUDIENCE (GENERAL)

O'Daniel's general audience was made up of his regular listeners, the voters who had elected him. Letters in the O'Daniel papers indicate that among the group were people of all ages and from every station and situation in life. The list includes: school children, aged people, people in prosperous circumstances, people in destitution, farmers, teachers, preachers, military personnel, truckers, glass workers, shut-ins, cripples, and even editors of small independent newspapers. Polls conducted in June and October of 1940 indicate that O'Daniel's greatest popularity was

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<sup>36</sup>Williams, loc. cit.

among the aged and rural people.<sup>37</sup>

An accurate evaluation of the size of O'Daniel's 1939 general audience would be extremely difficult since modern methods of audience analysis were not used in Texas until 1940. There is strong evidence, in the number of letters and telegrams which O'Daniel received from his fans in that year, that his audience was large. In June of 1940, the Texas surveys of Public Opinion, using the personal interview technique developed by Frank Gallup, estimated that approximately twenty-five per cent of the total adult Texas population heard the O'Daniel programs regularly.<sup>38</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The coverage afforded by two major networks totalled twenty-three stations and gave the Mansion Broadcasts excellent reception throughout the state. Following a controversy with WBAP O'Daniel's broadcasts were dropped by the Texas Quality Network on October 22, 1939. To compensate for the reduction in coverage O'Daniel then obtained a new outlet through a strong station, XEAW, in Reynosa, Mexico.

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<sup>37</sup>Texas Surveys of Public Opinion, Austin, Texas, June and October 1940.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

Of the 130 programs which O'Daniel broadcast from the Governor's Mansion only seventy-seven scripts were available for examination. Typed according to themes the scope of O'Daniel's subject matter is impressive:

Political	31
Promotional	9
Educational	11
Religious	7
Special Occasions	14
Miscellaneous	5

The formats of the Mansion Broadcasts required the services of a hillbilly band which was an important part of the O'Daniel Image.

The broadcasts emanated from the drawing room of the Governor's Mansion at Austin, Texas. They were aired at eight thirty each Sunday morning, before a live audience of approximately 200, mostly tourists and office seekers. The radio audience was estimated to be one fourth of the total adult population of Texas.



## CHAPTER V

### RADIO ADDRESSES OF 1939 IN BEHALF OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

The Chapter presents a rhetorical analysis of eight radio addresses by Governor W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas in behalf of social security legislation during the period March 19, 1939 to November 19, 1941.

The addresses belong to a group of broadcasts referred to as The Mansion Broadcasts in that they were delivered by Governor O'Daniel between eight thirty and nine o'clock each Sunday morning from the living room of the Governor's Mansion at Austin.

Of the eight broadcasts investigated four consisted of political speeches. Each of the remaining broadcasts contained a political speech and special features such as musical numbers and readings. The special features were an important part of Governor O'Daniel's tactics of persuasion and the combination programs reveal him in his most popular format.

Examination of the addresses is focused on three aspects of Governor O'Daniel's technique of persuasion:

- (1) means by which he maintained rapport with his listeners
- (2) means by which he led thought
- (3) means by which he moved to action

Logical, ethical, and emotional modes of persuasion are investigated. The logical mode is concerned with the speaker's argumentative development. The ethical mode refers to the stress which he placed on his intelligence, character, and good will as a means of making himself credible to his audience. The emotional mode deals with his methods of arousing the feelings of his listeners. The style of the speeches is discussed in terms of its meaningful contribution to the speaker's persuasive technique. Finally, the speeches are examined with reference to the significance of such special features as musical numbers and readings.

To assure continuity and to fix the speeches in point of time and circumstance, each analysis is preceded by a discussion of relevant historical developments. Antecedent Action relates to general events occurring in the interval between speeches; Immediate Occasion pinpoints problems confronting the speaker at the time of the broadcast. In each case the Immediate Setting is the same and, since this feature of the broadcasts is discussed in detail in Chapter IV,

it is not repeated in the analyses.

BROADCAST OF MARCH 19, 1939

Antecedent action

Before leaving Fort Worth O'Daniel assured his radio audience that he would not lobby for any bill while it was under consideration by the legislature. He told his listeners that he understood he had no constitutional right to fight with the legislators over governmental matters. He explained, however, that the people who had elected the legislators had the right to make their wishes known and their influence felt in affairs of vital interest to their welfare. He promised that he would keep them informed of events in Austin, and said that if the time came for them to take action he would let them know.<sup>1</sup>

Twelve days after his inauguration, on his second program of the Mansion Broadcasts, O'Daniel bitterly denounced the opponents of his transactions tax under consideration by the legislature and asked for help from his "partners", the people at home.

O'Daniel's attack was directed against what he called "self-interest groups" responsible, so he claimed, for

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<sup>1</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, July 25, 1938.

circulating unfair and unjustified criticism of him and his transactions tax bill. He named as his opponents the press, "tax-dodging merchants," and the professional politicians.<sup>2</sup>

O'Daniel explained to his listeners that some merchants approved his bill, but others had been signing and circulating petitions against it. He asked that the people retaliate by refusing to patronize those who disapproved of his plan. He told them: "I suggest that you folks ask your merchant which side he is on, in order that you may know which store is your friend and which is not."<sup>3</sup> In so doing he gave the first intimation of the role which he expected the people to fill in his plan to secure a pension tax bill.

On the Tuesday following the speech of January 29 the Dallas Morning News carried a report from its legislative observer to the effect that legislative reaction to the O'Daniel speech was "a mixture of wonderment, amusement, and resentment." The observer, Alonzo Wasson, said that legislators had been particularly irked by O'Daniel's suggestion that his audience refuse to trade with merchants who opposed his tax measure. On the next day the following editorial

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<sup>2</sup>Austin American, January 30, 1939.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

appeared in the same paper: "Considering the illegality of blacklist and boycott, Mr. O'Daniel's Sunday talk was unsound."<sup>4</sup>

On Monday following the January 29 speech the Senate failed to confirm O'Daniel's appointment of Carr Collins, a personal friend, as chairman of the state highway commission.<sup>5</sup> The Austin American saw a definite causal relationship between the act and the O'Daniel speech of the preceding day.<sup>6</sup> In the opinion of the Dallas Morning News the situation appeared most unpromising: "Unless there is a sharp pull-up in the immediate future, the present skirmish will develop into open war, and the widely heralded Lee O'Daniel administration will find itself getting nowhere very fast."<sup>7</sup>

O'Daniel was also having difficulties with the press. He had not had a friendly feeling for newspapers since the

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<sup>4</sup>Dallas Morning News, Jan. 31, 1939; Feb. 1, 1939.

<sup>5</sup>Senate Journal, 46th Leg., 1939, I, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup>Austin American, Jan. 31, 1939.

<sup>7</sup>Dallas Morning News, loc. cit.

Beaumont Convention in 1938<sup>8</sup> Since his inauguration and the presentation of his tax plan he had grown more and more antagonistic toward them. He contended that he had no sooner presented his inaugural address than newspapers instituted "a program of propaganda" in which they demonstrated more concern with headlines than with truth.<sup>9</sup>

During his first week as governor O'Daniel followed precedent by holding daily press conferences in the capitol. He then cut the conferences down to one a week. Finally, on February 27 he terminated the conferences altogether.<sup>10</sup> He was now obliged to rely upon radio as his primary link with the public. He apparently had complete confidence in his ability to hold his own against his opponents as long as he had access to the air waves. Even in 1938, shortly after his election, he had apparently foreseen the very eventuality which had now become reality. Asked what he would do when the professional politicians got after him with their machine, he had replied: "I have my own machine: the microphone."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>cf., Chapter II, p. 34.

<sup>9</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, April 2, 1939.

<sup>10</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 28, 1939.

<sup>11</sup>McEvoy, loc. cit.

## Immediate occasion

In his broadcast of February 20 O'Daniel appeared to believe that the legislature would adopt his transactions tax plan. He thanked the people for their many messages and said he was enjoying the happiest days of his life "fighting for the rights of the common citizens, the poor downtrodden people and the underdog." He said he would gladly suffer any humiliation or criticism in order to be of service to the poor and needy of the state.<sup>12</sup>

## Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home" in background	Band
Station Announcement	
Greeting	O'Daniel
One Verse of Theme	Band
Eulogy Segment	
"Sunshine in my Soul"	Leon
Tribute to J. J. Olsen	O'Daniel
"When the Roll is Called up Yonder"	Horace
Speech Proper	O'Daniel
Informal "Chatty" Segment	
"Rocking Alone in an Old Arm Chair"	Horace
Comments	O'Daniel
"Come to the Church in the Wildwood"	Leon
Comments	O'Daniel
Fade-out "Home Sweet Home"	Band

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<sup>12</sup>Austin American, February 20, 1939.

## SPEECH OF MARCH 19, 1939

The purpose of the speech was to secure support for the constitutional sales tax amendment currently pending in the House.

On the occasion of the March 19 broadcast O'Daniel was in an awkward position. Throughout his campaign he had repeatedly declared himself against a sales tax. Now, however, having given up hopes of getting his own bill passed, and being eager to bring the legislative impasse to an end, he had decided to press for passage of the pending sales tax constitutional amendment. In view of his former stand he was now faced with the difficulty of advocating passage of the bill without putting himself in the position of appearing inconsistent.

To achieve his purpose O'Daniel used only two main topical points. Although untrained in such matters, the governor recognized the advisability of building up a good case for himself and the bill before revealing to the audience that he had reversed himself on the issue of a sales tax. He consequently refrained from stating either his theme or his first point contention until after he had presented his evidence and made his argument.

To establish the worth of the bill O'Daniel used both logical and emotional appeal. Reasoning from ample



and valid evidence in the form of specific instance and stressing the motives of duty and a democratic heritage, he argued convincingly that the bill, having been chosen in the regular process of a democratic governmental system, represented the fair choice of an undeniable majority. Under such circumstances he considered it deserving of becoming law. He did not say he was endorsing the bill. He did indicate that such was the case when he said in his point statement: "Friends, if we are to have a Democratic form of Government, it appears to me that the members of the House should pay considerable attention to the bills worked out and recommended by their Committees."

He concluded his argument with a restatement of his point contention, amplified to include his purpose: "It is high time for the Members of the House to adopt the recommendations of their own Committees and if you agree with me please write or wire your Representative today and urge him to vote for this Amendment."

To justify his reversal of attitude O'Daniel relied entirely upon ethical appeal.

In the course of the argumentative development the governor admitted that his transactions tax bill was among those examined and rejected. He assured the audience, however, that he was a staunch supporter of the democratic

system of rule by majority, with an attitude toward a choice of bills marked by complete fairness. He said: "I was willing to cooperate with the Legislature in making the plan which they ultimately selected, effective." Almost effortlessly, certainly without undue ostentation, he justified his endorsement of the pending bill and even managed to make a virtue of his seeming vascillation:

Now while it is true that they turned down my transaction tax proposal, and while it is true they recommended a sales tax which I have consistently opposed for many years, yet in a free democracy we must all give and take and I for one am willing to do my part of giving in order to get THE BIG JOB done.

The second of O'Daniel's points was an attempt to offset the effects of charges that he sought passage of a constitutional amendment as a means of providing protection from future tax increases to the oil, gas and sulphur industries. In his point statement he said: "I have been asked why I have recommended solving this Social Security problem by means of a Constitutional Amendment rather than by the simpler process of just enacting a law."

O'Daniel first reasoned analogously that the history of the social security program in Texas illustrated the fact that the enactment of a law was not enough to assure payment of the social security obligations. He pointed out

that such a law had been in the constitution for the past three years but that no payment had ever been made to orphans, to the blind, and to retired teachers. From these observations O'Daniel drew the following deductive inference: "If these Social Security obligations can be met by simple statutory legislation, then why have they not been met?"

That O'Daniel's deductive inference was an oversimplification of the situation becomes plain when it is stated as a hypothetical syllogism.

Major premise: If these Social Security obligations can be met by simple statutory legislation, then why have they not been met?

Minor premise: They have not been met.

Conclusion: They cannot be met by simple statutory legislation.

Although the inference was plainly based on a fallacy its emotional implications helped to render it effective.

O'Daniel knew that the pensioners, disappointed that promised benefits had failed to materialize under the present system, could be expected to court change as a possibility for betterment. He therefore used their need as a talking point and relied on their desperation to render them susceptible to his implication that the statutory plan

of legislation would never work.

The form of the inference also made an important contribution to the governor's tactics of persuasion. Had he presented the inference as a declarative sentence he would have been obliged to commit himself to an outright condemnation of the statutory system. By presenting it as a rhetorical question he was able to lead the thought of his listeners entirely by implication, thereby sparing himself responsibility for any inaccuracy of conclusion. His tactics might well be characterized as "proof by innuendo."

In his second argument under Point Two O'Daniel, using causal reasoning, argued that a constitutional amendment was the only satisfactory solution to the social security problem. He stressed the fact that a constitutional amendment was more permanent in nature. He also stressed the fact that the bill which he had in mind would stipulate how supporting funds were to be raised and would specify the qualifications on which pension eligibility depended. He reasoned with sound and practical logic, supported by motive appeals to duty, security, and economy, that such a plan would profit and protect the pensioners, the public, and the state treasury. He emphasized and dramatized the final aspect of his contention by means of a fresh and

image-evoking figure of speech. "Texas," he said, "cannot afford to pay \$100 every Tuesday."

O'Daniel made a direct motive appeal to duty when he told the people: "I am calling this to your attention in order that you may do your part in helping to solve this most perplexing pension problem. . . ." He implied the obligation of the House members when he said: "I believe the quicker the House adopts this Amendment the quicker we will begin to make some real progress in solving the pension problem."

O'Daniel made repeated demonstrations of good will for the legislators. He eulogized one of their members who had died of a heart attack shortly before broadcast time. He praised them. Even in the chatty episode which followed the speech proper he did not overlook the legislators. He would, he said, be at the First Methodist Church in Cameron that morning and hoped to see Representative Reese Turner there.

It is significant, however, that O'Daniel never directly addressed any remarks to the legislators but spoke about them to the general audience, habitually referring to them in the third person. In this manner he seemed deliberately to exclude them from the intimacy of the rapport which he consistently worked to maintain between himself and his regular following of radio listeners.

O'Daniel demonstrated genius in the variety of methods which he devised to show his good will for the people. In the introduction he stressed the existence of a pact between him and his constituents when he said he was addressing them that morning for the purpose of fulfilling his promise to keep them informed on state affairs. He addressed them in a neighborly manner as "friends" or "you folks". He spoke to them in language which they could understand. He dignified their own idiomatic speech by drawing upon it for his descriptive expressions. He said the committee had interviewed people "from every walk of life". He said they had chosen a bill by means of a "weeding out and boiling down" process. He said it was "high time" for the House "to pay attention" to the recommendations of its committees. Occasionally he sought to challenge the interest of his listeners in an unexpected and pleasurable way by expressing an idea in alliterative terms: "playing politics", "specific provisions of social security", and "perplexing pension problem".

O'Daniel showed respect for his listeners. In asking them to write or wire their representatives he indicated that he considered them a vital part of the state governmental system. He deferred to their personal opinions when he qualified his request: "if you agree with me."

In the eulogy segment O'Daniel made the statement: "Olsen has answered the last roll-call in the legislature; he answered the roll-call up Yonder this morning." In the chatty segment he made a plea for church attendance, declaring that "the underlying foundation of civilization is religion." In his comments and through the hymns O'Daniel projected the image of a religious man of high principles and thereby sought to identify with the churchgoers of Texas. Through the song "Rocking Alone in an Old Rocking Chair" he underscored his sympathy for the friendless and reminded his general audience, particularly the pensioners, that he was the champion of the underdog. In his closing remarks he sought to convey a warm and friendly attitude toward his listeners. Against a nostalgic and heart-stirring musical background, as the band played "Home Sweet Home", he told them it had been a pleasure to visit with them. He brought the program to an end with the signature: "This is W. Lee O'Daniel speaking and wishing you Happiness and Prosperity."

#### BROADCAST OF APRIL 2, 1939

##### Antecedent action

The legislators seemed unaffected by O'Daniel's speech of March 19 or by the flood of letters and telegrams

which came to their desks from their constituents following that speech.<sup>13</sup> On March 23 the House voted on the sales tax amendment with the vote 79 to 66, or twenty-one votes short of the two-thirds needed. On the last day of the month the House killed the resolution. The House committee on constitutional amendments then began a further search for an appropriate bill.<sup>14</sup>

#### Immediate occasion

As O'Daniel prepared his speech for the April 2 broadcast he must have been aware that the legislators, aside from the social security situation, were giving signs of unwillingness to cooperate with him.

In January the legislature had rejected O'Daniel's appointment of his friend Carr Collins as chairman of the state highway commission.<sup>15</sup> Later they had subjected Judge J. D. Hunter of Abilene, O'Daniel's second appointee, to so much interrogation and examination that he had become annoyed and had of his own accord declined the appointment.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Seth Shepard McKay, W. Lee O'Daniel and Texas Politics, Texas Tech Press, 1944, p. 188.

<sup>14</sup>House Journal, 46th Leg., 1939, p. 1554.

<sup>15</sup>cf. Chapter IV, p. 108.

<sup>16</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, Feb. 22, 1939.



At the present time they were opposing the governor's third appointee, James M. West of Houston, on the grounds that he had supported Alfred M. Landon in his presidential race against Roosevelt. As one representative put it: "Texas has plenty of good Democrats to fill state positions."

O'Daniel could not have failed to know and to be irked by the knowledge that his difficulties in getting his appointees confirmed was without precedence in the state.<sup>17</sup>

#### Format

The broadcast of April 2, 1939 consisted of a full-time political speech.

#### SPEECH OF APRIL 2, 1939

In the speech of this date O'Daniel initiated his campaign of pressure against the legislature. He reserved his attack upon the members for the peroration and gave no intimation in the preceding discussion of what was to come in the conclusion. In the segments of the speech which preceded the peroration he did, however, seek to justify his attack upon the legislators by developing the

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<sup>17</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 4, 1939.

primary contention that special interest groups were hindering passage of a pension tax bill.

In the introduction O'Daniel focused attention upon the newspapers as the primary cause of the current legislative impasse. He said he had no sooner come to office and introduced his transactions tax measure than the press instituted a propaganda campaign "which was not designed to be constructive but which was designed to be destructive." Unfortunately, he said, the press of Texas was more interested in headlines than with truth.

Also in the introduction he sought to enhance his ethos with the audience in a number of ways. He dignified his embarrassment by indicating that persecution and criticism had been the lot of any Texas governor who had tried to carry forward a constructive program for the state. He insisted that he was not asking for sympathy because of the unjust treatment to which he had been subjected. He said he had no selfish motives to serve and that he was sustained by his desire to help "the great masses of Common Citizens of Texas." He said: "I have made a diligent effort to perform my duties."

In the development of his major contention the governor used three topical points. In his first he undertook to explain why the legislature had thus far failed

to solve the social security problem.

To introduce the point O'Daniel spoke briefly of the House's rejection of the constitutional sales tax amendment. He said that he had hoped last week that the bill would pass and that the social security problem would be solved. Instead, he said, the bill had been killed.

To explain the failure of the social security program O'Daniel forwarded three causes inferences.

I think it is well known that there are POLITICIANS and POLITICAL CLIQUES in Texas who would be happy to wreck the whole Social Security program if they thought it would hurt me . . . .

Naturally these political influences bring every pressure they can to bear on the Legislature to confuse the Legislature, to becloud real issues, and this makes it difficult for the honest, sincere Legislator to deal with important matters as he should.

When the Legislature decided to include the retail sales tax . . . . it aroused a bitter campaign of propaganda from a large number of merchants . . . .

Of the three causal inferences the last was valid as evidence since the resistance of the merchants to the sales tax was commonly known. The first and second were acceptable only to the listeners who had sufficient confidence in the speaker to accept his personal opinions as true assessments of the situation. Since this included practically everybody in the general audience, the arguments

were probably accepted without question. In addition to their appeal to reason they were also strongly supported by emotional and ethical implications. The first contained a strong appeal for sympathy. The second revealed O'Daniel as a man of perspicacity and fairness and one who was aware of the problems of the legislators. The arguments were probably as important in strengthening the bonds between O'Daniel and his listeners as they were in persuading them to his viewpoint.

At the conclusion of his third causal inference O'Daniel drifted off into a digressive sub-point which properly should have been reserved for development in Point Two, in which he projected instances in which the newspapers had undertaken to "becloud" issues. The governor, however, was more concerned with the content than the structure of his speeches and in this instance the discussion of the merchants and their opposition to the sales tax led him to defend himself for his advocacy of a sales tax amendment.

O'Daniel said newspapers had persuaded the public to believe that the sales tax amendment just defeated by the House was his bill. It was not his bill, O'Daniel said, but he had advocated its passage for several reason. He mentioned the detailed consideration which the committee had given it, the fact that it had received only two dissenting

votes in committee, and that in the House it had on the first vote lacked only twenty-one votes of the 100 necessary for passage. Reasoning from these ample and valid specific instances O'Daniel drew a practical, commonsense conclusion. He had been and was still of the opinion, he said, "that there was no reason to believe that a better plan would likely be offered and I therefore recommend this plan . . . ."

In his second point O'Daniel attempted to minimize or offset the effects of unfavorable newspaper publicity. He said: "All over this state we have statements being made designed to deceive the people."

O'Daniel charged that newspapers had led the public to believe that he had originated the pension problem. He did not mention any specific charges but said simply: "I am sure you all have read in the Press day after day statements which would cause you to believe that this old-age pension problem is one which I CREATED." O'Daniel argued causally that of course he could not have created the problem since the social security program of the state was written into the constitution in 1935, three years before he entered politics. He implied that if the press could deceive the people in this one instance it could deceive them in others and was therefore not a reliable source of information. O'Daniel argued with force and conviction,

but his premise was too general and over-simplified to serve as a basis for his refutative argument. It is possible that O'Daniel relied upon his listeners' awareness of newspaper coverage to supply the details which he failed to mention. It is more likely that he kept his premise vague because it represented his own interpretation of newspaper charges, so worded as to fit the immediate occasion. At any rate he showed cunning in the development of the point and probably convinced his O'Daniel-oriented audience that the newspapers were not fair or even correct in the coverage which they gave him.

In his second sub-point O'Daniel indicated that his opponents, with the newspapers as their mouthpiece, had deliberately and untruthfully malingered his transactions tax. He said the bill would have satisfactorily solved the social security problem had the legislature seen fit to pass it. He declared that it differed from the statutory bill of 1935, hailed "as the savior of the old folks", only in one respect; yet it had been ridiculed and categorized as "that fool plan of O'Daniel's."

The governor produced testimony in the form of quotations from the House and Senate Journal, one describing the old-age pension aspect of his bill and one describing the old-age pension aspect of the bill of 1935. Reasoning from

the comparative statistics on the two bills O'Daniel concluded:

the difference between the plan I am recommending and the plan followed by the 44th Legislature is that in my plan I am demanding that the taxes be levied to meet the promises at the same time the promises are made . . . .

O'Daniel fortified his logic by means of emotional and ethical appeal. He declared that it was the tax angle of his bill that was causing all the criticism. He implied that his opponents were not disturbed because of the promises he made in his bill, since the history of social security in Texas showed that promises did not necessarily have to be kept. "The trouble", he declared, "is that I've brought the promises and the payday into the same document."

O'Daniel produced statistics to prove that the 1935 appropriation for pensions had been inadequate. He indicated the amount of revenue which his plan would provide. Again reasoning from the comparative statistics of the two bills, he concluded that his plan was more satisfactory than the 1935 plan since it was adequate to assure every person over sixty-five a \$30 a month pension.

In his argumentative development O'Daniel used ample evidence in the form of historical data and

statistics. His reasoning was sound and convincing. To strengthen his logical contentions and to gain ethos for himself he brought his sub-point to a conclusion by means of two highly emotional statements. He dramatized the first by means of antithesis when he said: "It's not that I have recommended a more liberal social security policy. That's not the trouble. The trouble comes because I am demanding that the State pay its obligations." He dramatized the second by means of an alliterative climax: "I want the old folks, the dependent children, the helpless blind, and teacher retirement fund to get something besides hot air, hot checks, and political promises."

O'Daniel had now proved the worth of his bill. In his final sub-point he undertook to establish the fact that rejection of his bill was due to the legislature's unwillingness to provide the large sum necessary to take care of all the persons who, under O'Daniel's plan, would be eligible for pensions. To secure ethos for himself, O'Daniel first stated that under his plan the old folks would be guaranteed \$30 a month. To damage the ethos of his opponents, he then said that if the legislature was unwilling to provide the thirty or thirty-five million dollars needed annually to take care of the pensions, it meant they thought fifty cents a day was too much for the state to contribute



to an old person who had no income.

Cast into the form of a hypothetical syllogism

O'Daniel's deductive inference takes the following form:

Major premise: If the Legislature is not willing  
to provide the amount of money  
which I have just described, then  
it means they think 50¢ a day is  
too much for the state to contribute  
to an old person who has no income.

Minor premise: The Legislature may not be willing.

Conclusion: Then they think 50¢ a day is too  
much for the state to contribute.

By the use of clear and concrete terms "Legislature", "old person" and "50¢ a day" O'Daniel brought his contention within the perspective of his hearers as definite images. Also, to strengthen the implication of the minor premise he stated that he had spent a few hours the day before in looking over the House and Senate Journal of the Forty-Fourth Legislature when they were considering the original old-age pension bill and "appropriated Twenty-Five Million Dollars out of a Treasury that then did not have anything but a deficit to pay the bill." He said some of the folks who were in the legislature were still in it and "I was impressed with how much more conservative these fellows get when you put the tax bill in with the promising bill." He made a strong bid for ethos in the statements, not only by implying his own perspicacity but by implying the duplicity

of the legislators. In his opinion, he let the people understand, the members would probably be unwilling to raise the money to assure the old folks their meager fifty cents a day.

In his peroration O'Daniel made the following statement:

I do not start a fight and then quit. These social security obligations are honest obligations of this State and so long as these demands remain in the Constitution, and as long as I am Governor of this State, I am going to continue the battle to meet honestly and sincerely the obligations which you people as voters assumed . . . .

In this manner O'Daniel served notice on the opposition that he meant to continue his efforts to get a pension tax bill. He also reminded the audience that they, too, had an obligation.

He then declared that some kind of tax bill, either a constitutional amendment or a statutory enactment, must be passed. He said emphatically: "The job should be, can be, and WILL BE DONE."

At this point he threatened the legislators with public exposure of their voting record and hinted at possible retaliation at the polls. He said:

The masses of the people may be misled by propaganda-spreading minorities for a while but I expect to call the roll and to give them the record and I am confident that this Legislature will do this job along the plan that I have recommended or some better plan, and if they should fail in their responsibility as Members of the Legislature, I believe the masses of the people will select and send to Austin public officials who will not ignore their demands.

He brought the speech to a close with an appeal for cooperation. In it, for purposes of ethos, he stressed his own fair attitude. He said: "I have not been contentious in demanding my own particular plan . . . . I have told the Legislature frankly that I was willing to go along with any plan that was reasonable that would honestly meet these Social Security obligations." To make plain to his listeners that the legislators were the offenders in the pension situation, he administered a lecture to the members. He said that any person who thought he alone was right was eventually discounted and helped nobody. He said "In Government, in life, in business we must all learn to give and take for the good of the whole, and those men whose only objective in life seems to be merely personal criticism are destructionists." He did not ask his listeners to write their representatives. He did, in his final words, say to them: "I am going to tell you that this Social Security program which the people authorized will, sooner or later,

be provided for and I am going to tell you further that if you want it done in a reasonable manner you had better have it done now."

The legislators and the people now knew the course which O'Daniel intended to pursue in his efforts to terminate successfully the social security impasse. From this time on the legislators could not fail to recognize him as their nemesis; the people could not fail to believe that he was their dedicated champion.

O'Daniel's radical action undoubtedly served to assure his position of leadership with his constituents. By punishing the legislators he had underscored their guilt and his own innocence. By defying those who had criticized him for similar tactics in the past he had diminished the effectiveness of their criticism. By assuming an aggressive and courageous attitude he had shown his good will for the people, evidenced his devotion to their cause, and given demonstrable proof that he was not speaking idle words when he told them: "I do not start a fight and then quit!"

## BROADCAST OF JUNE 4, 1939

## Antecedent action

The legislators were outraged by the speech of April 2. Representative Mays of Atlanta, a former friend and business associate of O'Daniel, said if Hitler could have heard the governor's speech "it would have caused him to blush with shame." Representative Galbreath of Wharton said the governor had maneuvered around to discredit the legislature "unless we come along and let him take care of his special interest friends by giving him an amendment to the constitution where they can't be taxed any more." Galbreath complained that O'Daniel was trying to force the legislature to pass the constitutional sales tax amendment under the guise of securing help for the old folks whereas he was actually trying to help his wealthy friends to avoid further taxation.<sup>18</sup>

The Austin American on April 10, commenting on the fact that O'Daniel had on his broadcast of the day before made no reference to politics, said that the governor had been advised by his supporters in the legislature not to make any further attacks on the members.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Fort Worth Star Telegram, April 3, 1939.

<sup>19</sup> Austin American, April 10, 1939.

On April 18 the Senate, in an unofficial off-the-record vote of seventeen to fourteen, refused confirmation of James M. West, O'Daniel's third appointee, for the post of chairman of the state highway commission.<sup>20</sup>

During the month of April the House had under consideration a gross receipts tax bill, while the Senate passed a two per cent sales tax constitutional amendment called Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve.<sup>21</sup> The House considered the Senate bill several times during the month of April. Instead of passing it, however, the House pushed through an omnibus bill which was really an amended version of the Morris plan of earlier consideration.<sup>22</sup> The Senate rejected both the omnibus bill and also the gross receipts tax bill.<sup>23</sup>

Although the legislature, in the interval between the speech of April 2 and that of June 4 failed to pass any tax bill they did, on June 2, pass a pension liberalization law. As a consequence they added several thousand additional aged men and women to the pension roll of the state.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, April 19, 1939.

<sup>21</sup>Senate Journal, op. cit., p. 960.

<sup>22</sup>House Journal, op. cit., p. 3532.

<sup>23</sup>Senate Journal, op. cit., p. 1845.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 1726.

Immediate occasion

On May 28 O'Daniel, apparently infuriated at the action of the legislators in adding thousands to the pension rolls without providing money to take care of the pensions, made good his threat of April 2 and read the names of the twenty-one senators who had supported Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, thereby revealing to the audience the identity of those who had opposed the measure. He referred to the list of twenty-one Senators who had voted in favor of the resolution as The Honor Roll. He also threatened to reveal the identity of the House members opposed to the measure and said he would, if Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve failed, take the stump all over Texas in an attempt to prevent the re-election of all legislators who had held out against passage of the bill.<sup>25</sup>

Representative Marvin F. London of Montague, referring to O'Daniel's May 28 speech, said: "I have never seen such pressure and browbeating and unfair tactics as have been used on members of this legislature."<sup>26</sup>

Representative Morris, in a radio address of June 2, said his omnibus tax bill would have provided needed

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<sup>25</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, May 28, 1939.

<sup>26</sup>Austin American, May 29, 1939.

revenue immediately, and that the House had passed it by a vote of 120 to 24, indicating their favorable attitude toward the measure. He said O'Daniel's speech of May 28 was responsible for the defeat of his measure in the Senate. He said O'Daniel and his wealthy friends were for a sales tax constitutional amendment "not because it affords social security for the aged but because it affords economic security for the oil, gas, and sulphur companies."<sup>27</sup>

Representative Hill declared that O'Daniel's motto was to save the poor man's soul and the rich man's cash.<sup>28</sup>

The Dallas Morning News felt that O'Daniel's May 28 speech indicated that the governor intended to run for a second term. The paper also seemed to feel that the governor had now killed whatever chances of passage the pending bill might have had.<sup>29</sup>

#### Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home" in background	Band
Station Announcement	
Greeting	O'Daniel
Introduction to Speech Proper	O'Daniel
Musical "filibuster"	Band
"When You're Smiling"	
"Smile for Me"	

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<sup>27</sup>Houston Post, June 3, 1939.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Dallas Morning News, May 30, 1939.



	"Moonlight and Roses"	
	"Goldmine in the Sky"	
	"Home on the Range"	
Body of Speech:	Three Points	O'Daniel
	"Beautiful Texas"	Band
Reading:	"Heroes of Goliad" with	
	musical background "Sons of	
	the Alamo"	Band
Conclusion		O'Daniel

#### SPEECH OF JUNE 4, 1939

In the introduction O'Daniel indicated that he was going to bring the people some good news. As the speech progressed he seemed to be developing the contention that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve was going to pass. Midway of the speech, however, he pursued his by-now familiar tactics of intimidation, tactics which almost certainly would have doomed the pending bill had it not already been doomed. O'Daniel must therefore have felt, as did the Dallas Morning News that the bill did not have much chance of passage, and his purpose must have been something other than that indicated in his introduction and developed in his points.

Although the governor in his final point urged that "everybody" cooperate in terminating the pension problem he clearly did not intend the speech for the legislature. He not only directed his remarks to his general audience

but he was careless in the development of his points, making little attempt to validate logically his contentions and relying almost wholly for credibility upon emotional or ethical implications. He plainly had prepared the speech for an audience predisposed in his favor and inclined to accept whatever he said without question.

O'Daniel seemed less concerned with convincing his audience that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve was going to pass than with gaining ethos for himself and creating issues which he could later exploit to his advantage when, if the bill failed, he would need a whipping-boy in order to exonerate himself of responsibility. By stressing the fact that the bill was going to pass because of the conscientious, fair, and cooperative attitude of the legislators he postulated future attacks upon the members for selfish, unfeeling, and undemocratic indifference to the will of the majority. By implying his confidence in the good intentions of the legislators he prepared the way for later indignation and bitterness. He appeared, in other words, to be living up to Harold Hough's characterization of him as a man who was always several steps ahead of everybody else.

Considered in isolation the speech seems slight and of little significance. Considered as a part of a long-range plan it has a unique value in the present series. In so far

as the immediate audience was concerned it was just what O'Daniel told them it was: a means of bringing them some good news.

An outstanding characteristic of O'Daniel's technique of persuasion was his tacit assumption of victory and the festive atmosphere which he created as a means of convincing his listeners that the occasion was one for celebration.

The governor introduced his "happy" theme early. In his first few words he told his audience: "I am very happy this morning and before I finish this program I will give you the good news so that all of you may rejoice with me."

Also in the introduction O'Daniel made his first bid for ethos. Referring to the broadcast of May 28, in which he had exposed the voting record of the Senate, he said the response from his listeners had been "overwhelming and enthusiastic." By speaking of the "thousands" of letters of praise and commendation which he had received he sought to establish the security of his position, both as a means of reassuring his followers and of unnerving any legislators who might be tuned in.

O'Daniel did not have a great deal to say in the speech. He indicated as much in the introduction when he declared: "All the good news can be stated in a very few

words. So, to kill time, I will ask the boys to fillibuster."

When the band had played five popular numbers, O'Daniel finally began the development of his three topical points.

In his first point O'Daniel sought to convince his audience that prospects were bright for passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. He first explained the recent activity in the legislature. He told the audience that the Senate had passed Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve and had submitted it to the House. He said the House had not liked the bill and had sent the Senate two statutory bills which they favored. The Senate, he said, had not liked the statutory bills and had killed them. In a causal inference he concluded that Senate Joint resolution Number Twelve would pass because it was the only bill remaining on the legislative agenda. He implied there was not enough time left in the session to permit the devising of another measure. He said: "The last chance to raise the money before the Legislature adjourns is Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve."

Aware that the legislature had spent nearly five months in session without passing a tax bill, the audience would almost certainly accept without question O'Daniel's implied contention that insufficient time remained for devising a new bill, and that if any bill was passed it would

have to be Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve.

In his second sub-point the governor argued causally that legislators who had advocated the statutory method of raising pension money would, now that their bills had been killed, vote for the constitutional amendment. He did not produce any evidence to substantiate his contention, and depended upon ethical and emotional appeal, together with effective word choice, to implement his argument for credibility. He reasoned without conviction since his contention was based on speculation rather than facts and was actually nothing more than wishful thinking. O'Daniel said the legislators had fought the good fight for the measures which they favored; they had been defeated; now, as good democratic statesmen, they were "willing to bow to the will of the majority" and vote for Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. O'Daniel knew the people, desperate for aid, would grasp at any straw of hope. In his argument he gave them just that: a straw of hope. He strengthened his contention by choosing words which conveyed the impression that the desired result was already an accomplished fact. He did not say the legislators might be willing to vote for the bill, or that he hoped they would vote for the bill. He said: "they are now willing." In

this way he sought, through a motive appeal to security, to convince his audience by implication, so reducing the element of doubt as to indicate that the required number of votes was only a matter of procedural verification. He also enhanced his own ethos with the people when, assuming that the legislators would recognize their obligation "as good democratic statesmen" he suggested that such would have been his attitude had he been one of them. He probably made his point since his audience wanted to believe the bill would pass, and since they put implicit faith in whatever O'Daniel told them.

In the governor's third sub-point he related the outcome of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve to the personal lives of his listeners. In past speeches he had explained the difference between a statutory bill and a constitutional amendment. He had made it clear to his listeners that the former did not have to be submitted to the people whereas in the case of the latter the people, through the exercise of their rights of franchise, determined the fate of the measure. He now argued causally that some of the legislators who formerly had favored a statutory measure had recently become converted to a constitutional amendment out of a sincere belief that the people should

have the privilege of making the final decision on a bill. As in the preceding sub-point he advanced no evidence to support his contention. He did not say where he got his information. He did not mention any names of any particular legislators who were now willing to switch their allegiance from a statutory bill to a constitutional amendment. He simply made the statement and let it stand. He apparently intended the point to gain ethos for himself. Because of the good will which he manifested for the people he should have accomplished his purpose.

In his second point O'Daniel stated: "This leaves only one fly in the ointment . . . ." The "fly" to which he referred was the special-interest groups who were hindering passage of the tax measure. O'Daniel said they would not defeat Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. He pointed out to his listeners that the legislature had in the past week added thousands to the state pension roll. He argued causally, and for the first time with convincing logic, that the 130 representatives who had voted thousands on to the pension rolls of Texas would not now be deterred from fulfilling their obligation to provide the means of paying the pensions. As a consequence, he said, "we are now assured of 130 votes" for Senate Joint Resolution Number

Twelve. Since only 100 votes were needed, he gave the audience to understand that their worries were over and that passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve was practically assured. He added that he might take steps to curtail the activities of the hindering element by broadcasting the names of the big corporations involved. He had in the past gained favor with his constituents by his tactics of intimidation. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that by his hint of retaliation against the opponents of the bill he strengthened his contention and gained credibility for himself.

In his third point he said: "I may be over-optimistic but still I have confidence . . . ."

In a causal argument strengthened by emotional implications O'Daniel reasoned in the following manner:

I cannot believe that the members of this legislature after voting the Liberalization Bill will go home without finishing the job, and permit the dependent children and blind folks and retired teachers and the General Fund, and the old folks to suffer for two more years.

He conceded that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve was a compromise bill. He emphasized the fact by means of parallel structure: "It is not what I want. It is not what the opposition wants. It is not exactly what



anybody wants." He indicated that in a democracy personal interests had to be sacrificed for the common good. He argued that the legislators would vote for the pending bill because they were representatives of a democratic form of government and recognized the importance of co-operation. Here again he probably had no difficulty in convincing listeners who wanted with all their hearts to believe that his evaluation of the situation was right.

In his conclusion O'Daniel sought to reduce the problem to its simplest proportions when he said it was about time to close the session and "get to work to stop the confusion and let Texas settle down to normalcy for a while. He expressed happiness over the passage of the pension liberalization bill and the almost-certain passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. Again speaking in the first tense, as if to imply that the desired effects were already accomplished facts, he summed up the benefits to be derived from passage of the two bills in the following manner:

This means that the little old Texan can keep his sandyland farm . . . .

This means that the little old widow won't have to sell her little cottage homestead in town . . . .

This means that mother won't have to starve . . . .

This means that grandma can have a spare stick of gum . . . .

It means that grandpa will no longer have to hide his milk-cow down in the holler and won't have to have his milk measured . . . .

Not only did his "homey" illustrations, expressed in the vernacular of the people, have a potent appeal because of the clarity of their images and the emotional associations which they evoked, but also the parallel form in which they were structured gave them a pleasurable rhythm comparable to that of poetry.

Continuing his "happy" tactics O'Daniel, at the conclusion of his humorous illustrations, said "That sounds like good old campaign days. CAMPAIGN PROMISE MADE GOOD, BELIEVE IT OR NOT!" In so doing, he seemed to put an exclamation point to his contention that the bill would pass.

Since air time remained the governor said he wanted to dedicate the last few minutes of the program to Colonel Fannin and his brave men who lost their lives at Goliad in Texas' war of independence from Mexico. He told the band "Strike up a tune, boys!" and the band, to change the mood of the broadcast from one of celebration to one of reverence for noble sacrifice to the cause of state freedom, played O'Daniel's composition "Beautiful Texas." O'Daniel

then read an oration originally read a hundred years before at the site of the historic battle of Goliad. As he read the band softly played his composition "Sons of the Alamo" in the background.

O'Daniel used the tribute segment of the speech as an effective means of securing ethos for himself. He revealed his own intelligence and creativity, as well as his appreciation of the colorful history of Texas, by using his own compositions. He also related the oration to the present situation in such a way as to reveal himself as one who stood with the heroes of the state. He said:

While we are fighting these battles in 1939 it is fitting to remember that our forefathers fought for principles 100 years ago and in order to preserve and protect those things for which they fought, we must carry on.

In the few minutes of remaining air time O'Daniel sought to enhance his ethos with the religious element of his audience by urging his listeners to go to the church of their choice, by saying he and his family would attend services at the Central Christian Church in Austin that morning, and when he finally said: "Let us continue as a great Christian State. IF GOD BE FOR US WHO CAN BE AGAINST US." He brought the broadcast to an end with the familiar quotation from Romans, thereby leaving the audience with the impression that he felt himself to be in the right and therefore

assured of divine help.

#### BROADCAST OF JUNE 11, 1939

##### Antecedent action

On June 9 the House members debated Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve for four hours. In the course of the arguments representatives were severe in their criticism of the governor, even going so far as to ridicule his habitual use of alliteration. They referred to him as a "Sabbath Caesar", an "ether egotist", and a "crooning corporal of the panoplied forces of financial marauders."

Following defeat of the bill on June 9 political observers felt that the only chance O'Daniel had of securing passage of a pension tax law lay in a special session.<sup>30</sup>

##### Immediate occasion

As time for adjournment of the session neared many House members were wearing "Fifty-Six Club" badges, indicating that they were proud to be members of the minority group responsible for blocking passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve.<sup>31</sup> In a speech on the House floor,

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<sup>30</sup>Austin American, June 10, 1939.

<sup>31</sup>McKay, op. cit., p. 196.

Representative Derden denounced O'Daniel for his inconsistency and his unfair tactics, and declared the resistant House members would "stand pat." At the same time he dared the governor to carry out his threat of taking the stump in an attempt to damage the political future of legislators who opposed the constitutional sales tax amendment.<sup>32</sup>

#### Format

The broadcast of June 11, 1939 consisted of a full-time political speech.

#### SPEECH OF JUNE 11, 1939

O'Daniel had two purposes in the speech of June 11. He wished, if possible, to persuade the reluctant House members, now only six in number, to yield and vote with their colleagues to assure passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. Failing in this he hoped to so strengthen his ethos with the people that he would suffer a minimum loss of prestige by reason of the failure of the social security program.

In the introduction O'Daniel repeated his tactics of June 4 by thanking his listeners for the "thousands"

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<sup>32</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, June 1, 1939.

of letters which he had recently received from them. To stress his popularity O'Daniel said the letters indicated the citizens of Texas were enraged because of the attacks made against him on the House floor during the past week. To imply the risk to their political careers of continued legislative resistance O'Daniel said the letters revealed that the people were indignant that a handful of House members were blocking settlement of the social security problem.

He reminded his audience that the present occasion represented his last chance to talk to them before the legislature settled the problem one way or another. He said he wanted to give them a picture of the entire subject because he felt Texas was face to face with a severe crisis. He thanked God for radio because, he said, "it is the one avenue left open whereby the great masses of COMMON CITIZENS may get facts rather than Propaganda about public affairs."

Throughout the speech until the conclusion O'Daniel directed his remarks to his general audience. In the conclusion he changed his tactics and made a direct appeal to the House members upon whose vote success or failure of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve depended.

O'Daniel used four topical points to develop the following theme:

It is time this morning to face facts and for the people of Texas to realize the trouble which lies ahead for us unless six House members will view this problem in a big broad-minded manner and volunteer this coming week to join 94 other House members and 23 Senators to submit this most perplexing problem to the voters of the state . . . .

In his first point O'Daniel undertook to prove that responsibility for the social security problem could be charged to the Forty-Fourth Legislature of the preceding administration.

He first justified his own role in the situation. Reasoning causally he declared that since the social security obligations were in the state constitution when he came to office; and since the people had voted the obligations into effect; and since the people were supreme and he was their servant; therefore, he had no choice but to try to put the social security program on an operational basis.

To strengthen his logic O'Daniel relied heavily upon ethical implications. He rendered his listeners susceptible by means of flattery. He said they were "supreme". He lent credence to his contention that he could do no other than carry out the will of the people by humbling himself to the

role of servant. He dignified the lives of his listeners and suggested his own dedication to duty. In this manner he not only enhanced his own ethos but gave his argument sufficient impact to assure its ready acceptance.

In his second sub-point O'Daniel declared that the Forty-Fourth Legislature had made a "colossal blunder" when they committed the state to care for its needy without at the same time making provision for the necessary revenue. To prove his contention he drew an analogy between the kind of bill chosen by the Forty-Fourth Legislature and that chosen by Texas legislators of a previous time. He said that when "our forefathers" wrote into the Texas constitution a pension plan for payment of Confederate veterans they "put the tax to pay the pensions alongside it." He said the Forty-Fourth Legislature, however, had written into the state constitution only the promising half of the plan and that their error in failing to put a paying plan in with the promise was responsible for the failure of the program.

O'Daniel was really seeking to imply, as he had in the speech of March 19, that the failure of the social security program to date was due to the fact that it was supported by a statutory enactment instead of by a constitutional amendment. He could not have impressed the



legislators with his logic since they were aware that the governor was reasoning from a generalized and over-simplified premise. He probably was successful in making himself credible to his general audience. In his analogy he referred to legislation which had stood the test of time. In it, moreover, he referred to legislation whose benefits were known to the members since many of them had relatives who were or had been beneficiaries of the Confederate veterans' pension plan. He made it easy for them to conclude that a plan which assured a grandfather or a great-uncle a pension check could be counted on to do the same for them.

In O'Daniel's second point he contended that there was no true answer to the problem of taxation and "the only practical way to arrive at a basis of taxation in a Democracy such as ours is by the give and take, or compromise method."

To prove his contention O'Daniel merely repeated causal arguments of preceding speeches. He said the legislators had put up a brave fight for a statutory type of bill but their measures had been defeated. He said since they were in the minority he felt that many more than six of them would "bow to the will of the majority of their colleagues and vote for SJR #12 the next time it comes up

for a vote." He also argued that since the members had added thousands to the pension roll by passing the pension liberalization bill they should now vote for the bill which would finance the payment of the pensions. O'Daniel may not have convinced the legislators but in the course of his arguments he gave evidence to his general audience that he was a fair and a just man. He said of the legislators that he personally knew many of them were "honest and conscientious and sincere". He said they were not the ones "spouting off so loud" in order to get their names in the newspapers, but they were the solemn sober type who had sincere convictions regarding other methods of taxation.

He progressed from his praise of the legislators to a discussion of the scene on the House floor when several members had ridiculed O'Daniel. Again he demonstrated his fairness and his tolerance by making light of the incident. He assured his listeners the behavior of the few did not reflect the attitude of the majority. To prove his skill in parrying with adversaries and to offset any possible damage to his ethos resulting from the legislators' attack he resorted to the potent persuasive power of humor. Using the members' own tactics he minimized the significance of the incident by means of a causal argument expressed in exaggerated alliterative terms:

The vast majority of those 56 members are too sincere and sensible to be swayed by the howlings of two or three wise-cracking political proselyters polluting the place, performing a personality piracy plot for the purpose of plucking personal publicity by the papers printing their prattle.

In his final sub-point O'Daniel gave his interpretation of how the tax plan as contained in Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve would affect the people. He refuted charges of some of the legislators that the sales tax was a tax on the poor and set himself to prove that in the proposed bill the poor would derive all the benefit but would pay only a small part. He quoted statistics but failed to give their source. He said that income taxes supported the social security programs in thirty-three of the forty-eight states but that most of the money under Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve would be paid by other means. He said income taxes would provide fifty per cent of the revenue, while severance taxes would account for another twenty-five or thirty per cent. He said the two per cent sales tax would naturally affect those with spending power more than those without. When he came to mention the revenue derived from the sales tax, he was evasive. He said the poor would pay five, or ten, or maybe fifteen per cent at most. In a causal argument in which he undertook to make himself credible by means of emotional

appeal fused with unconfirmed statistical data he concluded:

So, my friends, by passing SJR #12 we will be far above the average because 85 or 90% of our Pension money will be paid by prosperous corporations and wealthy and well-to-do people, and only 10 or 15% of the total will be paid by poor people, yet the poor people will get all of the benefits . . . .

In this instance, as in many others of the series, conviction depended upon the esteem in which the speaker was held, and the willingness of the listeners to accept his word, unsupported by evidence, as a true assessment of the situation.

In a long and involved but convincing final point O'Daniel made a good case for a constitutional amendment by the projection of seven different causal inferences. He said he favored a constitutional amendment because it was not subject "to the changing fancies of Governors and Members of the Legislature"; because it "assured a tax with a base broad enough so that all the people will pay and will know they are paying"; because such a type of legislation was necessary to enable the agency responsible for spending the tax money to set up a stable administrative system; because such an agency had to know how much money it would have to spend each year and that such knowledge was possible only when "the obligation to pay and

and the tax to pay with are both written into the constitution"; because the state's inability to take care of the recent additions to the pension roll proved the inadequacy of a statutory system to cope with the problem; because a constitutional amendment had to be presented to the people while a statutory enactment did not; and because the social security problem was so important and so expensive that he felt the people should have a right to vote on it.

Not only did the governor produce ample evidence to support his contentions, but his arguments were sensible and logical. He showed cunning in using the recent pension liberalization bill and its consequences to illustrate the inadequacy of the statutory system of legislation. He said that although thousands were now applying for pensions "not one cent" had been provided to finance the program.

O'Daniel used so much material in the development of the point that the listening audience must have found it difficult to follow his ideas and impossible to retain them. He had a feeling for climax, however, and an unerring instinct for relating to the people in a personal way. By reserving for last consideration the arguments which revealed his good will for the citizens of Texas he made sure that whatever else his listeners forgot they would

remember that O'Daniel wanted them to have a chance to pass final judgment on any bill of importance.

By means of a rhetorical question the governor made a deft and effective transition from his final point to the appeal in his conclusion. He asked:

Now I ask you in all sincerity if this session ends without money to pay this Liberalization Bill which they passed by more than 2/3 majority in both Houses will the responsibility fall on the 94 House members who are voting for the Amendment or on the small minority who will block its passage by failing to provide only SIX additional votes?

In his peroration O'Daniel used both ethical and emotional materials, closely linked. Through the motives of duty, fairness, and obligation he made an impassioned appeal to the House members to vote for Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. At the same time he managed to enhance his own ethos in an effective and dramatic manner by representing himself to the legislators as an example worthy of emulation. In urging them to vote for the bill he told them "I had to give up my plan." In pleading with them to yield on methods to the end that the big broad objectives might be achieved, he said: "I saw the only hope . . . was for me to compromise . . . . I know if I had been stubborn and contended for my original plan, or none, I would have defeated the whole social security program."

By means of a rhetorical question he implied his inability to believe that the members were capable of such an irresponsible act as to vote against the bill. He asked: "Are you going home and leave the State of Texas in this deplorable condition?" Finally, he washed his hands of the matter as he said: "I have done all I can. No one except you can do the voting. I leave the matter in your hands." Piously he added: "Almighty God in Heaven, guide us."

O'Daniel's apostrophic appeal for divine guidance was only one of several ways in which he undertook to enhance his ethos with the religious element of his audience. Early in the speech he thanked God for radio. In the conclusion he used a message from a Baptist minister of Houston as impressive testimony to the high regard in which he was held by the Church. He first read the message: "My sermon Sunday Galatians 6-9 dedicated to you." He then explained the reference: "Galatians 6-9 is as follows: 'And let us not be weary in well doing for in due season we shall reap if we faint not.'" He brought the speech to an end by assuring the audience of his concern for their welfare when he said his constant prayer was that God would guide him in the fight he was waging for the "great masses of COMMON CITIZENS of Texas." To remind them that he was a martyr in their cause he asked that they in turn pray that God would

give his family strength and courage "that they will be able to withstand the untruthful criticism which they are forced to hear from day to day heaped upon the one they love."

#### BROADCAST OF JUNE 25, 1939

##### Antecedent action

By this time the House had defeated Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve five different times. On June 15 and again on June 19 attempts were made to bring up the measure but the vote was not taken until June 20, the day before the legislature was due to adjourn. On that day, with a full membership present, the vote was 95 to 54 in favor of the bill. The House voted once again on June 21 and the vote on that date was 93 to 56. With the bill definitely defeated the legislature adjourned.<sup>33</sup>

##### Immediate occasion

The legislature had been in session for 163 days which set a new record for longevity on the part of a Texas legislature. Even though this session was the most expensive in history, its adjournment left the state with the problem of

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<sup>33</sup>House Journal, op. cit., p. 4309.



financing the social security obligations still unsolved. It left O'Daniel with the problem of maintaining his influence with thousands of disappointed voters.<sup>34</sup>

#### Format

The broadcast of June 25, 1939 consisted of a full-time political speech.

#### SPEECH OF JUNE 25, 1939

Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve had been defeated, and O'Daniel was in the embarrassing position of having failed to make good on his promise of aid to the people who had elected him. In the speech of June 25 he was looking forward to another term of office and to a legislature whose members would be willing to support the social security obligations of the state. He therefore had a two-fold purpose in making the speech: he wished to purge the legislature of the fifty-six resistant members, and he wished to minimize or offset any damage to his ethos which might have resulted from failure of his pension program. To accomplish the dual purpose he used a single thesis: that the people should vote against the legislators who had voted against them.

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<sup>34</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, June 25, 1939.

In the development of his thesis O'Daniel did not adhere to any conventional speech pattern. He used fifteen minutes of his air time in reading a speech by a member of the legislature, an advocate of the defeated bill. He used another five minutes in reading the list of names of the ninety-four representatives who had voted for the bill. He had less than ten minutes left in which to inflame the audience against the members whom he wanted purged and to enhance his own ethos with his constituents. He did so effectively and convincingly, utilizing only the ethical and emotional modes of persuasion, strengthened, intensified, and dramatized by means of various stylistic devices.

In the speech O'Daniel frequently used ethical and emotional appeal interchangeably. That is, a statement designed to enhance his own ethos would also serve to stir the emotions of the listeners. He initiated this tactic of persuasion in the introduction when he sought to demonstrate his personal concern for the people and at the same time make plain to his listeners that the fifty-six resistant representatives were their enemy. He said:

To many who listen and are in desperate destitute condition I fear much suffering because of the action of 56 minority members, most of whom voted you political promises in the Liberalization Bill and then, just

before adjournment, when the last and final thing they could do to meet those promises was to permit the citizens of Texas to decide whether or not they wanted to accept approximately Thirty Million Dollars annually to pay the promises, they voted to refuse to allow the Sovereign voters to have the opportunity to vote Yes or No on the proposition and thus they defeated submission of SJR # 12 to the people, shouted cheers of rejoicing, folded up their share of the \$850,000 which the taxpayers paid them for their services, and went home.

To compensate for the overlong sentence, with its involved and broken syntax, O'Daniel used plain, simple, clear and forceful language, enlivened by several alliterative expressions: "desperate destitute condition", "minority members", and "political promises." He also made a deft use of climax, moving his ideas step by step to a dramatic conclusion. Concrete and image-evoking words brought the situation which he described within the perspective of his listeners as experience rather than as mere information. He made them feel as well as hear what he told them.

Also in the introduction O'Daniel used restatement to impress upon the people the circumstance which served as the basis of his contention: that the defeat by fifty-six minority House members of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve was a violation of the peoples' rights as sovereign voters and represented a slight to every adult Texan in his audience. He told them:

Let everybody understand that the Members of the House of Representatives . . . . were NOT voting on raising tax money at all; they were voting on whether or not they should submit the problem to the people. Get that plain. The question on which they were voting was a question of whether or not they would let the people decide the Social Security tax problem. The question on which they were voting was whether or not the people of Texas would have the opportunity of deciding the question Yes or No.

To place himself in a favorable position with his listeners he said: "In my opinion, when the people of Texas are deprived of the opportunity or privilege of voting on any important problem I think we have come to a black day in Texas democracy." To convict the legislators he added: "The people last Wednesday were deprived of that opportunity or privilege."

O'Daniel then read in its entirety a speech originally delivered on the floor of the House by the Honorable W. R. Chambers of May. He claimed he wanted to read the speech in order to prove to the people that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve had good friends among the House members. He apparently was further motivated in his reading of the speech by the fact that it served as effective testimony to his contention that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve should have been submitted to the people for decision. Representative Chambers said in part:

Under the Constitution we Legislators become usurpers of power when we deny to the sovereign voters of this state the right to vote on this amendment . . . . You would not think of denying your constituents the right to pass on your qualifications to be a voter in this House but you do, some of you at least, question their ability to vote settling this question . . . . How can you as Servants of the people suddenly cease to be Servants of the people and become their Masters and deny them the right to express themselves at the ballot box?

To make sure that his audience knew who was friend and who was foe among the representatives O'Daniel then read the list of names of the ninety-four House members who had, on the occasion of the last vote on the final day of the session, voted for Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve.

In the conclusion O'Daniel exonerated himself of all blame for the failure of the social security program. He reminded the people that he had devised and presented a plan which would have taken care of all the social security obligations. He told them he had steadfastly maintained a fair and cooperative attitude and had been ready at all times to accept any bill, statutory enactment or constitutional amendment, which would have met the needs of his program. He said he had stood with the majority throughout the session. He said he was proud of his record.

O'Daniel represented himself to the people as a long-suffering martyr to their cause. From the day of his inauguration 'until the final curtain was run down on this

session" he had stood and "taken it on the chin" and "below the belt." He put blame for the criticism and contumely which he had been obliged to endure on the professional politicians "and their henchmen and cohorts." Relating to his audience in an intimate manner through idomatic language and colloquial figures of speech, O'Daniel made plain his own position and that of the opposition by means of an allegorical illustration. He said the professional politicians and their friends had

been feasting at the public feed-trough so long that when a true representative of the great masses of Common Citizens of this great State of Texas walks into the Governor's office to fight for the rights of the Common Citizens, it's just like waving a red flag in a mad cow's face.

O'Daniel said the state was in a serious situation. He said the fifty-six House members who had defeated Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve were responsible. They had left the state in worse shape than they had found it. But, he said, the battle was not lost; in fact, it had just begun.

The governor began to exert pressure on the audience to purge the legislature of the resistant House members. He said: "The next great skirmish that will take place in this fight for the rights of the Common Citizens will take place at the polls in 1940."

To maintain ethos for himself and to confirm his stand that a vote was an individual's personal privilege O'Daniel did not tell the people how to vote. He said: "This is for you to decide." He did tell them that when they voted to remember that fifty-six members of the House had voted against submitting Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve to the people for decision. To dramatize his contention that the fifty-six members had succeeded in "scuttling" the bill O'Daniel used two illustrations, seeking to add to his serious persuasive efforts the further impact of humor. He said the fifty-six minority members had wrecked the social security program because they thought their ideas of a solution to the problem were better than anything yet presented. He said they were like the bragging doctor who had such wonderful ideas about performing operations and who declared the operation on a particular patient was a success, but the patient died. Or, he said, like the speed demon who thought he knew how to drive a car better than anybody else, but now had on his tombstone the following epitaph:

Here lies the body of Johnny McKay;  
He was killed maintaining his right-of-way.  
He was right, dead right, as he sped along  
But he's just as dead as if he was wrong.

In his final plea O'Daniel gave an impressive demonstration of persuasion through subtle psychological tactics. He first flattered his listeners into a mood of susceptibility. He said they were "reasonable and sensible and honest men and women of Texas." He said they recognized that the solution to the social security problem was now postponed but they knew it could not be evaded. He stressed the motive of Christian citizenship when he said they were "determined that it shall be done and the onward march of civilization and democracy, which includes being our brother's keeper, shall not be retarded." Finally he sought to firm their wills to decisive action. To accomplish this he again flattered his listeners by imputing to them the very ideas which he had been advocating, indicating that in suggesting a legislative purge he was merely speaking the people's own sentiments. He said:

My mail indicates that the citizens of Texas are so wrought up over this proposition that they will make sure hereafter to elect members who believe in democracy to the extent of submitting important problems to the sovereign voters of the great democracy of Texas for decision.



## BROADCAST OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1939

## Antecedent action

During the summer House members tried to explain to the public their reasons for resisting passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. At a Cass County watermelon festival at Atlanta Albert Derden, one of the leaders of the opposition group, said "O'Daniel has made the best governor the corporations of Texas ever saw." He contended that the governor was not interested in taxes to care for the poor and needy, but what he really wanted was a bill that would guarantee in the constitution that oil, gas, and sulphur companies could not be taxed beyond a certain amount. Derden said O'Daniel had no comprehension of representative government. He said:

He does not want one man in the legislature who has the integrity or ability as well as the nerve to think for himself. I suggest to the governor that he just ask the people to leave all the representatives and senators at home another term and save the expense of any additional legislative session, and let him run the state alone.<sup>35</sup>

Representative Larry Mills of Dallas was executive secretary of a group planning a banquet to honor the fifty-six resistant representatives. Mills interpreted O'Daniel's

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<sup>35</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 21, 1939.

refusal to call a special session in the following manner:

The governor wants to go before the next legislature, re-elected and with the argument that he has a clear mandate from the people for the enactment of a constitutional monstrosity providing a huge sales tax. The law he advocated last session would have netted not more than \$1,500,000 of the total from natural resources, while the people would have paid the remainder of the probably \$20,000,000 in a sales tax.<sup>36</sup>

At the banquet, held at the Adolphus Hotel in Dallas on August 12, Representative Abe Mays of Atlanta defended the House members who had refused to vote for the sales tax constitutional amendment. He said: "We saved the constitution from a use not fitting its dignity. I'm proud to be a member of the stubborn, self-willed minority that did it."<sup>37</sup>

Immediate occasion:

The Texas Board of Social Security Leagues was persistent in its demands that O'Daniel reconvene the legislature in an attempt to raise revenue to finance old age pensions. On August 23 the Board passed a resolution pleading with the governor to call a special session. In the resolution, addressed to "Governor W. Lee O'Daniel or the men who are dictating his movements," the Board called attention

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1939.      <sup>37</sup>Ibid., August 13, 1939.

to the fact that two previous communications on the same subject had gone unanswered.<sup>38</sup> When on September 23 the State Welfare Board announced that a pension cut was imminent the Dallas Board of the Social Security League discussed a "Coxey's Army" type of march on Austin. The members talked of prevailing upon the legislature to impeach the governor if he persisted in his refusal to reconvene the members in special session.<sup>39</sup>

#### Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home"	Band
Station Announcement	
Gold Star Mothers Tribute	
Solo: "Just Before the Battle, Mother"	Leon
Comments	O'Daniel
Solo: "My Buddy"	Horace
Reading: "In Flanders Field"	O'Daniel
Speech Proper	O'Daniel
Gold Star Mothers Tribute	
Comments	O'Daniel
Solo: "Waiting for Ships that Never Come In"	Harmony
Poem: "Memories"	O'Daniel
Announcement	

#### SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 24, 1939

In the speech O'Daniel was obliged to tell his audience that a pension cut was imminent and also that he was not going to call a special session of the legislature.

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., August 27, 1939.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., Sept. 24, 1939.

As a consequence he centered his efforts in offsetting any possible damage to his ethos resulting from the bad news.

Because the speech was short O'Daniel preceded and followed it with segments dedicated to Gold Star Mothers. In the initial segment he set the mood for the speech proper. He also created ethos for himself by identifying with his listeners through the persuasive power of music, poetry, and his own sentimental comments on the mother theme. He made a deft and effective transition from the Gold Star Mothers segment to the speech proper. He said that on a day dedicated to one particular group of mothers it was fitting and proper to discuss

other aged mothers and fathers who have fought life's battles for the interests of our State and have reared their sons and daughters in the right way for upbuilding this great state of Texas and furthering the cause of civilization, better society, and more comfortable surroundings for all who inhabit this State after them.

He said he spoke of the recent announcement by the State Board of Public Welfare to the effect that a cut of \$6 in the pension payments would begin in October.

In the first of his four topical points O'Daniel put full responsibility for the pension crisis upon the legislature. In doing so he contended that because of legislative action a pension cut was inevitable.

O'Daniel reasoned first that the newspapers knew a cut would come. His deductive inference, expressed as a hypothetical syllogism, takes the following form:

Major premise: The newspapers knew full well while the legislature was in session that if this body did not provide pension money the cut was bound to come.

Minor premise: The legislature did not provide the money.

Conclusion: The newspapers knew full well the cut was bound to come.

The governor did not produce any evidence to strengthen the minor premise since the fact that the legislature did not provide pension money was generally known by reason of much publicity.

O'Daniel next reasoned that the legislature knew a cut would come. His deductive inference, expressed as a hypothetical syllogism, takes the following form:

Major premise: The members of the Legislature knew that if they passed a Liberalization Law and then failed to pass a law providing money to pay those thousands which might be added, it would mean proration and the cutting down of pensions to those already on the rolls.

Minor premise: They passed a Liberalization Law and then failed to pass a law providing money to pay those thousands which might be added.

Conclusion: The members knew this would mean proration and the cutting down of pensions to those already on the rolls.

Here again the minor premise was common knowledge and required no validating evidence.

To establish further the fact that the legislature knew a cut was bound to come, O'Daniel explained that the members passed a law setting aside money from the pension fund to pay an old loan of \$2,230,000 at the rate of \$318,000 in October and \$400,000 per month thereafter until the loan was retired. In taking these large amounts from the Pension Revenue Fund, he said, the legislators kept the state from getting equal amounts from the federal government. They knew this fact, he claimed, and knew that their action would deprive the Pension Fund of twice \$318,000 in October or \$376,000 for October payments for the old folks, and \$400,000 per month starting in November and continuing until the total loan of \$2,230,000 was paid in full. Reduced to its simplest proportions O'Daniel's long and involved deductive inference may be stated as a hypothetical syllogism in the following manner:

Major premise: The legislature knew a cut would come if they passed a law setting aside money from the pension fund to pay on an old loan of \$2,230,000.

Minor premise: They passed such a law.

Conclusion: They knew a cut would come.

O'Daniel had thus far argued with convincing logic from ample historical facts and statistics. In his final argument he reasoned causally that the old folks themselves knew a cut would come "because it was common knowledge." Since his preceding arguments served to validate his present contention he made no further comment. He drew no conclusion to the point although he obviously intended to imply that the legislators had created situations which made pension cuts a certainty.

In his second point O'Daniel attempted, as he had in the speech of April 2, to shake his audience's confidence in the integrity of the press. He made no allusions to the recent unfavorable publicity with reference to a called session and the hints of impeachment. Instead, he produced incidents from early in his administration to establish his contention that the "loud-mouthed professional politicians and their hirelings, the propagandized newspapers" were deliberately trying to mislead the public about the governor and his activities. To bolster his logical arguments and to assure the acceptance of his contention O'Daniel relied heavily on the ethical and emotional modes of persuasion.

The governor's first charge against his opponents was that they had created a hostile attitude toward his

transactions tax by misleading the public into believing that the plan was a sales tax. He said it was not a sales tax but a transactions tax. He did not make clear the difference. Instead he said that in his opinion "no more flagrant, deliberate and premeditated case of propaganda could have been determinedly carried on in this State than has been practiced by some of the newspapers in continuously and repeatedly referring to the Transactions Tax as a sales tax." He disdained to go deeply into the reasons for such action. By stating that "most everybody knows why" he implied that the newspapers were trying to mislead the public in order to undermine O'Daniel's position. In his conclusion he induced the audience, by means of a deductive inference expressed as a rhetorical question and strengthened by a motive appeal to fairness, to believe that the newspapers had done both them and O'Daniel an injustice. His deductive inference, recast as a hypothetical syllogism, takes the following form:

- Major premise: If they argue that a Transactions Tax and a Sales Tax is one and the same thing, why did they not print the name "Transactions Tax" and permit the public to decide on the meaning of the word?
- Minor premise: They did not print the correct name "Transactions Tax".
- Conclusion: They did not permit the public to decide on the meaning of the word.



In his second sub-point O'Daniel contended that newspapers had again misrepresented the facts when they led the public to believe that the defeated bill, Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, was his proposal. It was not his proposal, the governor assured his audience. In a causal argument he reasoned:

I was willing to urge its adoption only as a last resort in order to get tax-money to pay the Social Security obligations . . . . and because it had received 21 votes in the Senate and 94 votes in the House and needed only six more House Member votes to pass it and that was closer than any other tax-measure came to passing.

In his third point O'Daniel wished to lead his audience to a willing acceptance of his decision not to call a special session of the legislature. He first flattered his listeners by implying their intelligence when he said: "I am simply making these statements of facts because I believe the citizens of Texas are able to take the facts and form their own conclusions." He then sought to prove that whereas he had done his duty at all times, the legislature had been inept and indifferent in the discharge of their responsibilities. He said he had submitted "what I considered the best tax and that is a transactions tax." He said he was ready and on hand each and every day of the 163 day session "to accept any bill which the legislature

considered better than the transactions tax." He said the legislature, however, had rejected his transactions tax and had failed to submit any form of tax measure to him. To stir his listeners to anger against the legislators, he added: "they finally refused to even place enough confidence in the sovereign voters of Texas to give them an opportunity to vote on the matter." He indicated his attitude toward a special session when he said: "There was no good reason for any sincere person to wait until after the Legislature adjourned to suggest some tax theory." Finally, by means of an inductive inference, expressed as a rhetorical question, he implied that he would not call a special session. He had already produced ample evidence to strengthen his minor premise. Cast as a hypothetical syllogism his deductive inference assumes the following pattern:

- Major premise: If the Legislature could not pass any kind of tax bill in 163 days at a cost of \$800,000 to the taxpayers, by what process of reasoning could the same members be expected to pass any kind of tax bill at a special session?
- Minor premise: They did not pass any kind of tax bill in 163 days at a cost of \$800,000 to the taxpayers.
- Conclusion: They could not be expected to pass any kind of tax bill at a special session.

In the inference O'Daniel made a motive appeal to economy. To emphasize further his reasonableness and his concern for the taxpayers' pocketbook O'Daniel restated his contention. Again resorting to a rhetorical question as a means of leading the thought of his listeners he asked: "Why should the taxpayers of Texas care to spend another Hundred or Two Hundred Thousand Dollars to defray the expenses of a Special Session?"

O'Daniel had now dashed the peoples' hope of getting any help from legislative sources. To offset any resultant loss of prestige he sought in his final few minutes of air time to renew their hope by representing himself as their personal benefactor. He indicated that he had devised a plan which he felt might possibly avert the pension crisis.

He first created ethos for himself by expressions of deep concern for the pensioners. He said: "It looks like a pitiful and hopeless situation for the old folks and my heart goes out to them in their dire predicament." He declared he had stuck close to his office and had not gone to the many celebrations to which he had been invited and had been working hard on various plans to avert the catastrophe. He then said he had a project which he thought might prove an answer to the problem. He revealed that his

plan was

to raise by popular subscription \$2,300,000 without interest, to be placed in a fund to purchase from the old folks their pension checks and hold such checks until after this loan of \$2,300,000 is paid, and sufficient revenue comes into the State Treasury to cash the checks, at which time the money will be returned to those who subscribe to the plan.

O'Daniel said he realized that his project represented an ambitious undertaking. He said he was going to undertake it, however, because of the seriousness of the situation. It was, he said, a last desperate attempt to help the old folks of the state. O'Daniel then had to admit that there were legal angles involved, and that before he could proceed with his efforts he would have to submit his plan to the Attorney General for a decision. As it turned out, therefore, he had nothing more than a conditional promise to offer the people: "If his ruling will permit carrying out the plan legally I will talk to you further."

It is possible that some of the people were encouraged by the possibility of aid which O'Daniel held out to them. It is almost certain that many of them saw too little prospects of success in the plan to accept it as a substitute for the better chance of aid represented by

a special session. Perhaps the majority of them accepted it as he offered it, as a last desperate chance of help and as a demonstration of the governor's continuing concern for them.

O'Daniel would have to await future events to know if he had succeeded or failed in achieving the purpose of his speech. In the meantime he concluded with further bids for ethos, calling attention to his efforts in behalf of the common citizens and to the discouragement which he suffered by reason of the antagonism of his opponents. He castigated his opponents by declaring they had been exploiting the state "by cunningly getting special legislation passed for their own special benefit, while fighting every honest effort proposed for the benefit of the great masses of Texas citizens." He sought to endear himself with his listeners through a motive appeal to sympathy when he said he had been obliged to see "the truth twisted so badly and deliberately by those Professional Politicians and their hirelings, the propagandized newspapers." He may have made a plea for additional time to carry out his program of aid for the old and needy when he said: "But friends, as long as I am your Governor, I will continue to fight for the rights of the great masses of common citizens of this State,



Democracy of our forefathers, the future HAPPINESS and PROSPERITY of the world."

To emphasize again his sympathy for the plight of the old and needy O'Daniel asked the band to sing in harmony "Waiting for Ships that Never Come In." He then read a poem "Memories" written by a Gold Star Mother. In a final bid for ethos and to relate to the religious element of his audience he said he had been invited to speak a few words to Gold Star Mothers that morning at eleven O'clock at the Central Christian Church.

#### BROADCAST OF OCTOBER 22, 1939

##### Antecedent action

The O'Daniel plan, announced in the broadcast of September 24, received little support. In Austin Representative Abe Mays denounced the governor for deserting first one plan and then another: first the \$30 a month promise to all persons over sixty-five, then the transactions tax, and finally a sales tax. Mays referred to O'Daniel's plan to take up a public collection to finance old-age pensions as "just another crackpot scheme."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Dallas Morning News, September 26, 1939.

Senator Joe Hill on the other hand said O'Daniel would have no difficulty in getting the oil, gas and sulphur interests to subsidize his program and thus prevent the \$6 cut in old-age assistance checks. Hill believed the companies would consider the plan a bargain since it would save them from the possibility of a much greater financial involvement imposed on them as a tax by the legislators in special session. Representative Hill indicated that O'Daniel may have devised the plan as a means of creating a campaign issue. He said: "By putting two and a third millions in as a loan now, the natural resource boys will save ten for one by averting a special session, and also maybe it will help reelect O'Daniel."<sup>41</sup>

Among members of the legislature agitation for a special session continued to grow. Representatives R. Lee Brown of Nacogdoches, W. J. Galbreath of Wharton, Walter A. Ferguson of Overton, and Joseph White, Jr. of New Boston were among the signers of a letter which suggested that on September 30 legislators hold meetings at all county court houses for the purpose of adopting resolutions urging the governor to call a special session.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., September 27, 1939.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.



On October 1 Attorney General Mann ruled that the O'Daniel plan for collecting voluntary contributions to prevent a pension cut was illegal.<sup>43</sup>

In Dallas on October 6 O'Daniel told a reporter for the Dallas Morning News that he "believed he would call a special session and let the legislators worry over it." He declared he had never said he would not call a special session. He added: "Any time I think there is reason or justification for a session to consider old-age pensions or any other proposition for the benefit of the citizens of Texas, I'll be glad to consider it." Observers interpreted O'Daniel's remarks as indicating that he might be reconsidering his decision not to call a special session. As a consequence his speech of October 8 was anticipated with a good deal of interest.<sup>44</sup>

In the speech of October 8 O'Daniel told his audience that he was polling the legislators in an attempt to determine their attitude toward a tax bill. He said there was no use to call a special session unless the legislators could give him some assurance in advance that they could come to an agreement. The bill which O'Daniel proposed was

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<sup>43</sup>Austin American, October 2, 1939.

<sup>44</sup>Dallas Morning News, October 7, 9, 1939.

similar to Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve but was for a statutory enactment effective until August 31, 1941.

The governor told his listeners that he could not make a decision regarding the special session until he heard from the legislators.<sup>45</sup>

#### Immediate occasion

After the broadcast of October 15, in which O'Daniel again postponed a decision on the matter of a special session, Radio Station WBAP asked him for an advance copy of his script for the following Sunday morning. The station explained that it was required by the code of the National Association of Broadcasters, of which it was a member, to ask for advance copies of scripts in cases of controversial subjects. The governor refused to comply and his broadcast of October 22 was not carried by WBAP or any of the stations which it served as a key.<sup>46</sup>

#### Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home"  
Station Announcement  
Speech  
Solo: "Sweet Hour of Prayer"

Band  
O'Daniel  
Leon

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<sup>45</sup> Austin American, October 9, 1939.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., October 30, 1939.

## SPEECH OF OCTOBER 22, 1939

O'Daniel's purpose in the speech was to give evidence to his general audience that he was strengthened in his course by the knowledge that he had consistently done what he considered right in the eyes of God and best for the people of Texas. To accomplish his purpose the governor used six topical points, each representing an attempt to enhance his ethos with the public.

O'Daniel made his first bid for ethos in the introduction when he apologized for his delay in giving the people his decision with reference to a special session. He said he knew there had been many worried folks who were disappointed on the preceding Sunday because he was "unable to bring cheerful news." He assured them that he shared their disappointment but indicated it was unavoidable since he had not "at that time received enough replies from Members to enable me to make a decision in the matter." Having placed blame for the delay on the legislators he made no further reference to the special session.

In his first point O'Daniel contended that there were many important matters that needed the attention of a cool and calm and deliberate legislature "yet the members have been and still are torn apart in groups and while this

is going on our State is suffering tremendous loss because important matters have been and are being sidetracked."

To support his contention the governor mentioned the need for reorganization of the state governmental system, the need for modernization of the state public school system, and the opportunities afforded by the war for increased trade with Latin American countries. Of the governmental system he argued causally that "Practically every person who has closely studied our State Governmental organization realizes that there should be a reorganization of many of our State Departments." He did not mention any specific departments or tell why they needed reorganization or make any suggestions for their improvement. Of the public school system he argued causally that thousands of dollars had been spent on a survey "and those familiar with school affairs are convinced that something should be done to improve our schools and provide more equality of opportunity for all the boys and girls of Texas." He did not cite any specific findings of the survey or indicate where the fault lay in the present system. Of the state's failure to exploit the opportunities for increased trade with the Latin American countries he argued causally that the war in Europe had left Mexico and other countries to the south without any source

of supply for certain needed commodities such as iron, oil, and gas. He said Texas had those commodities; and now was the time "to grab that business which has been forfeited by those European countries."

The evidence which O'Daniel presented was too scant, too lacking in specificity, and not sufficiently pertinent to the issue to prove conclusively that there was any causal relation between the Social Security problem and the lag in progress in the state. Certainly it did not justify the governor's contention, apparently intended to convince his listeners of his high intelligence, that the state was suffering tremendous losses because of legislative pre-occupation with the social security problem. If it made any contribution to O'Daniel's major purpose, it was only because his listeners were willing to let the governor do their thinking for them.

O'Daniel's second point was for the purpose of exonerating himself of any responsibility for the state's social security obligations, and to further represent himself to the people as a man of strong moral convictions who believed in keeping promises.

O'Daniel contended that the present problem was one of paying rather than of promising. The promises, he

declared, were already written into the constitution.

O'Daniel had used this same contention in other speeches. To give it a fresh touch he resorted to proof by negation, further emphasized by parallel structure. He said:

It is not now a question of whether or not we will spend \$1,500,000 per year to care for the helpless children. It is not now a question of whether or not we will spend \$500,000 per year to care for the indigent blind. It is not now a question of whether we will put about \$3,000,000 into a fund into which the school teachers of Texas already put a like amount to pay retirement payments to the teachers.

Reasoning from specific instance, the governor argued that the state was committed to the payment of all the obligations mentioned. He said: "These matters have already been decided by the voters of this Great State of Texas and the debts or obligations have been created."

By means of a rhetorical question he focused the listeners attention upon the paying aspect of the problem: "Now the only question for decision is ARE WE GOING TO PAY THESE HONEST OBLIGATIONS OF THE GREAT STATE OF TEXAS?" To stress his own honor he declared that "No responsible person would dare to give a negative answer to that question." Arguing causally, he undertook to establish that the legislators were not responsible persons. He said: "Since this

became a burning issue the Legislature has been in session 563 days, at a cost to taxpayers of several million dollars and yet we are now in a very deplorable condition." He emphasized his contention by means of illustrations, structured in parallel form for dramatic effect and added interest. He said:

Not one penny has been raised for the helpless children;  
Not one penny has been raised for the indigent blind;  
Not one penny has been raised for the teacher retirement fund.

O'Daniel drew no conclusion to the point but none was needed. He had argued convincingly from valid and impressive evidence. He made it easy for his listeners to form their own conclusion that in so far as the helpless children, the indigent blind, and the retired teachers were concerned the state, through its representatives in the legislature, had reneged on its promises. At the same time he left them with no doubt that he was a man of high honor and integrity in contrast to the unreliability of the members of the legislature.

In his third point O'Daniel contended that "Much of the meager pension payments has been raised the easy way of borrowing and this easy borrowing method has now led us

to this crisis."

To initiate the point O'Daniel said that "some good old soul" had recently written to ask why pensions had to be cut \$6 per person on 120,000 persons, or \$720,000, when the first pension loan payment was only \$138,000. He said: "I'll explain that now."

O'Daniel pointed out that for many months more than \$100,000 of the pension money had been borrowed money. The borrowed money, he said, had run out in October; furthermore, the pension loan payments were due to start in the same month. He said that while the first payment was only about \$138,000 the regular payments were \$200,000 monthly until the loan was paid in full. He said:

these \$200,000 monthly payments, plus the \$100,000 borrowed money which we have been using but which is now all gone, add up to \$300,000. Some additional pensions have been added, which amounts to \$60,000, and this makes a total of \$350,000 which, together with an equal amount we lost from the federal government, makes \$720,000.

The figures spoke for themselves and O'Daniel's causal argument was in the nature of a self-evident fact. He said that in order to raise the \$720,000 it had been necessary to cut the 120,000 pensioners of the state the sum of \$6 each.



To prove his own good business judgment O'Daniel brought the point to a decisive conclusion by means of a deductive inference. Borrowing, he said, "often brings men to the brink of disaster". He further said: "It gets cities or counties or states or nations into lots of trouble." Finally he concluded: "so here we are facing a crisis." Restated his categorical syllogism takes the following form:

Major premise: Borrowing gets states into trouble.

Minor premise: Texas has borrowed to meet its pension obligations.

Conclusion: Texas is in trouble.

In his fourth point O'Daniel contended that the pension cut "places these helpless old folks in a serious situation." To prove his point he produced testimony in the form of a letter from an elderly widow. He read the letter in its entirety:

Dear Governor W. Lee O'Daniel -- I am writing to ask if you can help stop taking off the cuts on pensions. It was so little to get by on like it was and I don't see any chance to keep from starving. I am not able to work if I could get the work. When I have to pay house rent and buy wood it was hard to get by like it was and I am sick so much. Will you please help for it not to be cut, but I believe you have done all you could. Please do all you can for me for I know if I don't have milk I can't live long, and I can't see how I can get it if the pensions are cut. I am a widow,

have one boy but he can't hardly keep his wife and child up. I don't know what will become of me. Do all you can for me. I do believe you have.

Not only did the letter serve as potent proof of the governor's contention, but it also served to enhance his own ethos through the repeated expressions of confidence in his integrity.

The governor did not reveal the identity of the writer. To center attention upon her he asked the leading questions: "Who is she? Why doesn't her son take care of her?" He preferred that she remain anonymous so that he could use her as a symbol of thousands of others like her. He said: "She is one of the pensioners of Texas." Reasoning causally, he exonerated her son of responsibility for his mother, saying "he is scratching to provide food and clothing and shelter for his wife and child." He took advantage of his audience's uneasiness because of the war situation to reason causally that if the nation went to war it would be young men like this woman's son who would be called upon to defend the homes and possessions of "the rest of us." In another causal inference he dramatized the tragedy of the pension problem and emphasized his own concern for the plight of those affected when he said: "she gave us this son . . . and now she shudders as she

goes to sleep at night for fear she will not have a glass of milk tomorrow."

In a concluding causal inference O'Daniel indicated that he sought in all his actions to make sure that he did not offend the Almighty, and that those who took some other action might suffer dire consequences. He reasoned: "God created the world and all that's in it and if organized society does not provide for our helpless and destitute citizens in lands of milk and honey like Texas, we shall possibly pay in some other way for our neglect."

In all of his speeches O'Daniel impressed upon the people the fact that they were involved with him in the pension problem. He wished them to understand that responsibility for the solution of the problem was as much their's as his. In his fifth point he stressed the obligation of the citizens of Texas in a causal argument in which logical appeal received strong support from subtle but effective implications of good will. He said he was convinced "the great rank and file of our fine Texas citizenship actually want these Social Security obligations to be met . . . ." He said: "As proof of that statement I refer you to the Constitution of this great State of Texas." He reasoned that it was a matter of record that a large

majority of the sovereign voters of Texas voted the social security obligations, knowing when they did that it would take money to pay those obligations, and he was sure they wanted those obligations paid "exactly in accordance with the mandate they issued at the time they voted . . . ."

In this manner O'Daniel, without offending the people and indeed by assuring their assenting response, made certain that they recognized they had a role to play in the solution to the pension crisis. In other words, he gave them to understand that they were committed to his support.

The governor next placed blame for the failure of the social security program on the legislators. By means of a causal argument, strengthened by a motive appeal to economy, he reasoned that the legislature in 163 days and at a cost of \$800,000 had accomplished nothing. He retold of his efforts to get his bill passed, of his willingness to cooperate on any satisfactory bill, and of the legislature's consistently uncooperative attitude. He said that because of the legislature the state now faced the present crisis. Since the audience shared his opinion of the legislature, he almost certainly made his point.

O'Daniel now wished to justify his poll of the legislators. He knew that he had been accused of assuming

authority that was not rightfully his when he specified a particular program on which he expected them to vote. He knew his critics were saying he had taken a dictatorial attitude when he asked for a majority agreement on the bill as a pre-requisite to the re-convening of the law-makers.<sup>48</sup> To counter-act these charges O'Daniel argued causally that there was no use to convene a special session until he had some assurance that the members could agree on a bill. For this reason, he said, he had asked if the members would be willing to start right in where they left off in June by taking the amendment favored by both Houses during the regular session and try to pass a statutory bill similar to it. To stress his special privilege he said: "All that I am trying to determine is whether or not I should call a special session and in determining this matter I have the right to ask questions of any member of the Legislature . . . ." To lead the people to the conclusion which he desired he asked: "Could anything be more fair? Could any plan be more fair?"

O'Daniel's listeners were probably willing to concede that he had the right to conduct the poll particularly when in another causal argument he produced impressive statistics to prove that he was saving the taxpayers \$5000

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<sup>48</sup>Dallas Morning News, October 9, 1939.

per day by discussing certain things by correspondence instead of calling a special session for the same purpose. He said: "We have been corresponding now for 14 days, which means a saving to the tax payers of \$70,000." They could not have failed to be disappointed, however, when O'Daniel concluded the point by stating: "It is of course taking time and at this time there is no way to know what the outcome will be, but may I ask the public to be patient while we are working on this plan." In this manner, by implication rather than by direct statement, the governor let his audience know that he was not yet ready to make a decision on a special session.

In a long conclusion O'Daniel worked hard to strengthen the bonds between himself and his constituents. He made it plain that in the matter of a special session he was mindful of his duty to the citizens of Texas. To show that he was a genial man who held no grudges he thanked the legislators for cooperating with him in the poll, and he thanked the newspapers and radio stations for publicizing his plan. He urged that everybody give and take in a friendly manner "to solve this grave problem." In a pointed bid for ethos he said he believed honest obligations should be paid and that he did not want to see Texas jeopardize

her reputation for honesty by failing to meet the state's recorded debts. He appeared to indicate he expected to be governor long enough to work out an elaborate program when he told of his plans for building a better Texas in which jobs and markets, better schools, and a better state governmental system would prevail. To relate to the religious members of his audience he brought the speech to a close with an emotional appeal for strict adherence to the principles of Christianity. Having said that he was praying for the people of Texas, he urged his listeners to take God for their guide and "to follow the teachings of his only Son, who died on Calvary that we might have HAPPINESS and PROSPERITY on earth by following His teachings, and inherit the Kingdom of Heaven after we leave this earth." To sustain the religious mood throughout the remaining few minutes of air time Leon sang "Sweet Hour of Prayer."

#### BROADCAST OF NOVEMBER 19, 1939

##### Antecedent action

On November 5 O'Daniel told his radio audience that he had abandoned hope of getting the legislators to agree to the bill which he had suggested. He had, therefore,

written them a second letter in which he said:

If a bill is placed on my desk which will raise sufficient revenue to finance old-age pensions, teacher retirement, aid for the blind and aid for dependent children, which bill bears the signatures of a majority of the house members and the approval of a majority of the senate, I will immediately convene a session for the purpose of enacting such a bill into law.<sup>49</sup>

Since the governor, in his second letter, asked the legislators to present the signed bill by November 18, so that he could announce his decision on his program the following day, the members had only two weeks in which to reach agreement on a bill and obtain the necessary signatures. One bill, sponsored by Representatives Bailey Ragsdale of Crockett and Henry Lehman of Giddings, was not acceptable to the majority of the members. A second bill was sponsored by fifteen members of the House. They signed it and sent it to all other legislators, except senators. The bill was supposed to bring in \$21,000,000 a year, of which more than \$18,000,000 would be allotted to the needs of social security.<sup>50</sup> The Dallas Morning News commented upon the large pensions the passage of the bill would assure.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Austin American, November 6, 1939.

<sup>50</sup>Amarillo Daily News, November 7 and 9, 1939.

<sup>51</sup>Dallas Morning News, November 12, 1939.



### Immediate occasion

Fifty members of the House met in Austin on Saturday, November 18, to sign the new proposal. Thirty-one more wired acceptance of the plan. Representatives called on O'Daniel Saturday, November 18, and presented him with a letter and a copy of the proposed tax measure. Representative Derden later explained the experience:

We laid on his desk a duplicate copy of the bill and told him it was a copy. We had the original bill in our own possession. We told him, both by letter which was attached to the copy of the bill and in person, that we had 76 names of House members signed to the bill as co-authors, and that in addition we had five more representatives who had declined to sign the bill but had said that if the governor called a special session they would support it. That made 81 members pledged to support the measure.<sup>52</sup>

### Format

The broadcast of November 19, 1939 consisted of a full-time political speech.

### SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 19, 1939

In the speech O'Daniel undertook to justify his refusal to reconvene the legislature in special session. He knew the people were going to be disappointed in his announcement. He therefore withheld it until the very end of the speech. By so doing he gave himself the opportunity to prepare the way for its acceptance by convincing his

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., November 22, 1939.

listeners that his decision was based on sound judgment and was in the best interest of the people. To achieve his purpose he used four topical points and relied heavily on the ethical mode of persuasion.

Throughout a long introduction O'Daniel made repeated bids for ethos. In the first few words he told the people that he was finally prepared to give his decision as to the advisability of re-convening the legislature for further consideration of the pension problem. He said that as governor he had a grave responsibility to all the citizens of Texas. O'Daniel said it might be expedient for him to go ahead and call the legislature into session "whether I believed or did not believe that anything would be accomplished." He said that he would not, however, exploit the needs of the pensioners for his own personal purposes. The governor said the old and needy had been disappointed too many times and the tax payers had been put to too much expense for him now to make a political issue of the pension problem. He indicated that his only concern was to do his duty honestly and fairly.

In his first point O'Daniel told his listeners that in deciding to conduct the poll of the legislators he had been motivated by two primary purposes: first, to save

the taxpayers any further fruitless expense; and second, to assure himself that something constructive would be accomplished in a special session.

O'Daniel used statistics to prove that legislative expenses had been mounting steadily until they had now reached astronomical proportions. He said that before he quoted his figures it might be well for his listeners to "sit down so you won't fall." The governor's findings revealed that the last session had cost the taxpayers more than the total expenses of all the sessions, regular and special, between the years 1923 and 1930. He insisted that he was making his report to the people as a public service and as a part of his job. Arguing causally he said:

When such outlandish sums of money are being spent, isn't it high time that some Governor was taking the great masses of Texas citizens into his confidence and telling you what is becoming of so much of your money? . . . . There may be some people who would like to see those things kept secret, and there may be some people who do not like a Governor who gets in here and digs these skeletons out of the closet and broadcasts the truth . . . . I promised you I would broadcast things I found and I am doing it.

The logical and emotional modes were fused in the argument toward the end that O'Daniel would stand forth as a worthy leader and the dedicated champion he had in the past claimed himself to be. By appealing to the

people through their pocketbooks, and by implying the duplicity of his opponents, "there may be some people who would like to see those things kept secret", he made himself not only credible but heroic.

O'Daniel then said he had felt obliged to get the legislators to agree in advance on some bill. He argued causally that "I am certainly warranted in doubting that legislation could be secured in a thirty day session . . . . in view of the fact that the regular session in 163 days . . . . did not raise the money to finance Social Security." He said it was just as much a burning issue during the regular session as it was now and the members knew then exactly what would happen to the pension checks in October just as well as they now knew what did happen to them.

For these reasons, O'Daniel said, he had selected "the one and only revenue measure which had received a majority vote in the House and a majority vote in the Senate" and had queried the legislators by letter, asking them, if the legislature were called into special session, if they would be willing to pass such a bill. In a causal argument he sought to convince his listeners that his poll had been a sensible and worth-while undertaking:

The investigation which I made by mail revealed the fact that there was no hope of enacting such a measure . . . . and, my friends, it revealed that condition just as definitely as it possibly could have revealed it if I had called the Legislature into Special Session for 30 days at a cost of Five Thousand Dollars per day or more to the taxpayers of this State.

In his second point O'Daniel contended that "the thing that is confusing the Social Security problem in Texas is the professional politicians."

O'Daniel's first charge against the professional politicians was that they did not make good on their campaign promises. In a causal argument he reasoned that when the professional politicians were running for office they invariably said they were in favor of paying the social security obligations. But after they were elected, he said, they turned around and claimed that money for paying these obligations should be assured by some tax measure which they "down deep in their hearts" could not be passed. He said:

Ever since the voters adopted these constitutional amendments and put them in the statute books of this State, you have listened to the ravings of the professional politician as he told you how he was going to pay pensions to everybody and care for all Social Security obligations, but has refused to vote for the taxes necessary to pay for the bill.

O'Daniel implemented his argument for credibility by means of a subtle complement in which he indicated that the

people were too smart to be the dupes of legislative campaign tactics. He said:

I think the professional politicians are underestimating the intelligence of the average voter when they think that they can declare for a liberal Social Security payment on the one hand and then alibi for doing nothing by saying that they favor certain taxes which they know cannot be paid.

O'Daniel's second charge against the legislators was that they were inept in discharging their duties. He argued causally that since the social security obligations were first incurred there had been two regular and two special sessions during which all of the professional politicians had plenty of opportunity to put their plans into effect. There had been one regular session and two special sessions before he took office, he pointed out, and not only had the legislators done nothing about passing a tax bill, but some of the members who were now making the loudest promises were members of the previous legislature. Since O'Daniel's evidence was historical facts of recent date and common knowledge, and since his reasoning was sound, he left little room for doubt of the accuracy of his implied but obvious conclusion: that the legislators were better at promising than paying.

O'Daniel's third charge against the professional politicians was that they sought to mislead the people.

He said the professional politicians had recently started a wave of propaganda in which they claimed that he was trying to coerce them into passing a bill of his choice.

O'Daniel reminded his audience that he had read them his original letter to the legislators and that they were familiar with its conditions. The plan which he had recommended to the legislators in his poll had not even been his plan; it was the plan worked out by the Senate during the regular session and the one which the majority in both Houses had consistently favored. O'Daniel was careful to make no allusion to the fact that the legislators had shown their disapproval of the measure by failing to pass it in the regular session. Instead he sought to convince his listeners of the fairness of his tactics when, arguing causally and seeking to lead the thought of his audience to the conclusion which he wanted, he said:

Well, now, the fact of the business is that I read to the people the letter which I sent to the Legislature and you know as well as I do that I did not attempt to coerce the Legislature into doing anything. You know that the only thing that I did was simply ask members of the Legislature if they would vote for this one measure . . . .

Any logicians in O'Daniel's audience would have found it difficult to reconcile his protestations of fairness with the fact that the bill which he chose as a basis of agreement

was one which the legislators had previously rejected. Audience response to O'Daniel's earlier speeches, however, had indicated a marked inclination on the part of his listeners to accept as truth whatever the governor said. It is therefore possible that they did so in the present case. Certainly they could not have failed to realize that in his "you know better" tactics O'Daniel was subtly reminding them of the bond between them, a bond which he had admonished them to maintain for their common purpose: "Right or wrong, we should by all means stick together."<sup>53</sup>

O'Daniel's final charge against the professional politicians was that they had, in defending their rejection of his proposed bill, said that Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, which served as a model for O'Daniel's plan, was a "terrible" amendment. O'Daniel argued causally that the legislators "have referred to SJR-12 as 'it came to the House from the Senate' instead of telling you what SJR-12 was 'at the time they voted against same.'" O'Daniel said the legislators had circulated the story that the bill carried a tax on milk and bread and for this reason they were against it. O'Daniel admitted that the bill "as it came to the House from the Senate" had carried such a tax

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<sup>53</sup>cf, Chapter III, p. 67.



but said that when the House voted on it to kill it "SJR#12 had been changed by an amendment which exempted all sales of bread and milk and other food articles." He used a rhetorical question to lead the people to form their own conclusion to the point when he asked: "Now, friends, I leave it to you: Has the so-called 'Other Side' fairly and honestly presented to you the true facts in this matter?'"

O'Daniel's third point represented an attempt to disprove charges that he had made legislative acceptance of his plan the condition on which re-convening of the legislature depended. The governor told his audience that to show his fairness, he had two weeks before sent the legislators a second letter. In the letter he had informed the members that he would immediately convene a special session if the representatives would, by November 18, place on his desk a tax bill of their own devising: a tax bill adequate to take care of all the social security services, and bearing the signatures of a majority of the House members and the approval of a majority of the Senate. Reasoning causally O'Daniel said:

Now it matters not what those smooth-tongued politicians say about it, this letter speaks for itself . . . . I opened the door wide and gave those who have been talking so loud about how easy it would be to get this money if they were only given an opportunity TO PROVE THEIR SINCERITY BY THEIR ACTIONS.

O'Daniel insisted that he was not interested in the "political angle of this thing" but that he was "tremendously interested in getting food for the old folks." To stress his own sound judgment and perspicacity as well as his fairness he said he had seriously doubted the good faith of the representatives, but had decided "that I should give them a chance to perform." To make sure that his listeners grasped the significance of his second letter he told them again that while he had "serious doubts" of the representatives ability to agree on a bill he had wanted to give an opportunity "to those who believe that it can be done to do it."

O'Daniel introduced his final point by saying:

"The two weeks are up and the requirements have not been met." On the day before, O'Daniel said, several representatives had called at his office and presented him with a copy of a bill "which did not bear the signatures of one single member of the legislature." He said they also presented him with a letter which read: "We are authorized to state to you by the 81 members of the House whose names are attached hereto that they will vote for the principles of taxation embraced within this bill."

O'Daniel argued causally that there was a vast difference between the members signing a specified bill and authorizing some of their fellows to say they would vote

for the principles of taxation embraced within the bill. He said there was nothing in the letter handed him by the legislators to indicate the amount of revenue the proposed bill was supposed to raise. Although the Dallas Morning News had commented on the large pensions which the bill would make possible, O'Daniel said he had been informed that it would produce considerably less than one half the amount needed to meet adequately the social security obligations. The governor went on to say that the letter read in part: "This bill has not been submitted to the Members of the Senate for their endorsement for the reason that we believe that the Senate should determine for itself the course which it wishes to pursue." Again arguing causally O'Daniel said that by reason of the fact that no signed bill had been presented to him, that the proposed bill was inadequate for meeting the social security needs, and in further view of the fact that the plan submitted by the House members had not been approved by a majority in the Senate, he could not consider that the legislators had met the conditions set forth in his letter of the previous November 5.

In his conclusion O'Daniel gave his final decision on the matter of a called session, striving as he did so to justify it by ethical means. He assured his listeners that he had left no stone unturned in his attempts to get

the representatives to give him tangible proof of their ability and willingness to produce a satisfactory bill. He said he was now convinced that if he called a special session it would only result in loading "an added expense of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars or more on the tax payers of this State." He said it would probably end with nothing accomplished, and that therefore "I do not intend to call a Special Session at this time for the purpose of considering Social Security tax measures."

As O'Daniel had in earlier parts of the speech reminded the people that they were bound by a pact to support him "right or wrong" he now fulfilled his pre-inaugural promise to guide them in carrying out their part of their bargain. He said: "Obviously the Social Security problem is not going to be solved until it is solved by the people themselves. This they can do, and I think will do, in 1940." By implication he let them know that if they wanted the pension problem solved they would have to return him to office for another term and would at the same time have to make sure they eliminated from the House the fifty-six members who had steadfastly opposed him.

Only time and the 1940 summer elections would reveal audience reaction to the speech.

## SUMMARY

The eight speeches examined in Chapter V demonstrate a unity of purpose in that each represents some aspect of Governor O'Daniel's struggle to put the social security program of Texas on an operational basis. Presented in sequence they serve as a record of O'Daniel's tactics of persuasion in the pursuit of his dual goal: the securing of aid for the poor and needy of Texas, and the furthering of his own political career. Related to the records of history they reveal a startling causal connection between O'Daniel's spoken word and subsequent events.

The speeches were directed to O'Daniel's regular audience of devoted followers, the people who had become his admirers in his pre-political radio years, who had drafted him as their nominee in the 1938 gubernatorial race, and who were now involved with him in a plan to secure passage of a needed tax bill for implementing the social security services for payment. Before coming to Austin to assume his duties as governor O'Daniel had emphasized to his radio audience that he and they were partners in his political venture. He gave them to understand that if he was to help them they would have to help him. The speeches reflect the bond and the part it played in O'Daniel's plan to secure the

needed tax bill through pressure exerted by the voters upon the law-makers of the state.

O'Daniel's arguments were not always logical, but he had the ability to implement them for credibility through impressive use of ethical and emotional means. To gain acceptance O'Daniel habitually represented himself as a devoted and dedicated leader engaged in a bitter struggle to guarantee the constitutional rights of the "great masses of common citizens of Texas" against the maneuverings of self-interest groups, particularly the professional politicians. His tactics were of two types: those which served to enhance his own ethos and those which served to discredit his opponents. To show that he was motivated in his struggle by high ideals O'Daniel made frequent references to God or Christian principles or the importance of church attendance; also to duty, honor, and the theme of "one's brother's keeper." To shake his listeners' faith in the legislators he made a practice of referring to them as "professional politicians", and he represented them to his audience as incompetent, selfish, and uncooperative, with no concern whatsoever for the plight of others less fortunate than they, and deserving of the lot which he planned for them: defeat at the polls.

O'Daniel used numerous and varied motive appeals in securing support for himself or legislation which he favored.

Those which he employed most frequently were: duty, security, justice, honor, pride in citizenship, and resentment or anger. By threats of retaliation at the polls he regularly sought to coerce the legislators into voting his way. In leading the thought of the regular audience and in moving them to action the governor frequently alluded to their interdependence and to the fact that they were committed to stand together.

The governor used inductive, causal, deductive, and analagous reasoning. He seemed to fall easily and naturally into the deductive form of reasoning and his speeches were liberally sprinkled with deductive inferences expressed as rhetorical questions. Scant and generalized supportive material marked the governor's speeches. His most impressive and convincing argument occurred in the April 2 speech in which he produced ample testimony in the form of statistics quoted from the House and Senate Journal. All too often O'Daniel's facts were nothing more than his own interpretation of recent historical events while his arguments were frequently mere assertions of personal opinion.

Governor O'Daniel was skillful in the use of stylistic devices. He regularly used restatement, parallel structure, and rhetorical question as aids to impressiveness and to emphasize his contentions. He was also apt in the use of

climax as a means of emphasizing or dramatizing a point. His language, being simple, conversational, idiomatic, and colorful, was admirable suited to his audience.

Of the eight speeches examined four shared air time with musical members and readings. The special features were an integral part of O'Daniel's tactics of persuasion and made a contribution to the speeches as fillers, as a means of creating atmosphere, as a means of stressing certain themes or contentions, and as a means of underscoring certain qualities calculated to endear the Speaker to his audience: love and respect for motherhood, state patriotism, sympathy for the aged and lonely, and adherence to the teachings of Christianity.



## CHAPTER VI

### RADIO ADDRESSES OF 1941 IN BEHALF OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

Chapter VI presents a rhetorical analysis of six radio addresses delivered by W. Lee O'Daniel in behalf of social security legislation during the period March 9, 1941 through April 20, 1941, in his second term as governor of Texas.

The speeches in Chapter VI represent a continuation of Governor O'Daniel's efforts, initiated during his first term of office, to secure passage of legislation which would implement for payment the promised social security services. The last speech of the series, in the broadcast of April 20, is of special significance. It was a reply to a legislative resolution urging O'Daniel to resign as governor in order to fill out the unexpired term of the recently deceased Morris Sheppard, United States Senator from Texas. The speech was in the nature of a conditional acceptance. In it, the governor indicated that he might be interested in the post of United States Senator, but only if he could complete the tasks which he had begun in his role as governor.

First among the tasks which he felt obliged to see finished before he could consider a higher office was passage of a social security tax measure.<sup>1</sup> A week later the legislature passed the Morris omnibus tax bill.<sup>2</sup>

In analyzing the six speeches of the 1941 series the procedure is the same as that pursued in the analysis of the eight speeches in the 1939 series in Chapter V.

#### BROADCAST OF MARCH 9, 1941

##### Antecedent action

As 1939 drew to a close, talk around Austin centered in the possible candidates and the issues of the 1940 campaign for governor. Many people felt that Attorney General McCraw would be the new governor of Texas. Labor favored McCraw and this fact, coupled with his popularity as attorney general, seemed to give him the edge over other possible contenders for the office.<sup>3</sup> In the 1938 contest he had run third with 421,000 fewer votes than O'Daniel and

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Radio Scripts, April 20, 1941.

<sup>2</sup>Senate Journal, 47th Leg., Reg. Sess., 1941, I, p. 1067.  
House Journal, 47th Leg., Reg. Sess., 1941, III, p. 2553.

<sup>3</sup>McKay, op. cit., p. 251.

79,000 fewer than Ernest O. Thompson, Railroad Commissioner.<sup>4</sup>

Observers assumed that Thompson would again be a contender for the state's highest office and that O'Daniel would of course seek re-election. Since the 1938 contest Thompson and O'Daniel had practically switched positions with reference to issues. Thompson was now considered to be the candidate of conservative business whereas O'Daniel was believed to have the support of many big businesses. Thompson was not in favor with the oil industry since he advocated raising money to pay the social security obligations by means of an additional five cent a barrel tax on Texas' most lucrative commodity. Since the oil industry had been exempt from any additional taxes during O'Daniel's administration, it was behind the governor. Thompson was against a sales tax. O'Daniel as a supporter of the sales tax constitutional amendment, Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, was considered to be an advocate of the sales tax. He denied such advocacy stating that he was still convinced a transaction tax was the logical means for raising revenue to support the social security program.<sup>5</sup> Many people, however, considered

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<sup>4</sup>cf. Chapter II, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup>McKay, loc. cit.

that his transactions tax was a sales tax under another name.<sup>6</sup>

Jerry Sadler announced that he would run only if O'Daniel ran, stating that the governor's office needed to be cleaned up and that he would "either be a candidate for governor myself next summer or I will support someone with a program beneficial to those least able to pay."<sup>7</sup> Sadler also said he felt he had an obligation to the people of Texas to get Lee O'Daniel out of the governor's office.<sup>8</sup>

Harry Hines, in announcing his candidacy, revealed his disapproval of the governor by declaring he would pursue an altogether different campaign program, one characteristic of O'Daniel. Hines said:

At no time need you expect Harry Hines to rely upon ignorance or emotion in an effort to win votes. If sound basic fundamentals of government as envisioned by our forefathers, based on honesty, integrity and economy, is what our citizens want, then it is an insult to their intelligence to promise them impractical, unsound vote-getting bait. I do not want to be governor of Texas badly enough to snare voters by offering the glitter of an undeliverable lure. I shall make no promises that cannot be fulfilled . . . .<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>cf., Chapter II, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup>Houston Post, January 7, 1940.

<sup>8</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 10, 1940.

<sup>9</sup>Austin American, February 21, 1940.

Other candidates were Representative Albert Derden of Marlin, leader of the opposition responsible for defeat of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, and Mrs. James E. "Ma" Ferguson, former governor in her own right and wife of former governor Jim Ferguson, only Texas governor ever to be impeached. Derden said he was opposed to a sales tax "since it is a tax upon the income of the poor and would work undue hardship upon the small merchant." He favored an increase in natural resource taxes to take care of the pension program.<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Ferguson advocated a gross receipts tax of one half per cent to raise a sum of \$50,000,000 a year to pay the social security obligations.<sup>11</sup>

In a special hour long broadcast on April 3 O'Daniel announced that he would be on the ballot as a candidate for re-election. In each he reviewed his struggle with the legislature over the issue of social security, defended his own position and both for his own return to office and the sake of the House members who had been responsible for failure of his program during the 1939 session. O'Daniel advocated his transactions tax as the most

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<sup>10</sup>Dallas Morning News, January 14, 1940; February 18, 1940.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., March 5, 1940.

that his transactions tax was a sales tax under another name.<sup>6</sup>

Jerry Sadler announced that he would run only if O'Daniel ran, stating that the governor's office needed to be cleaned up and that he would "either be a candidate for governor myself next summer or I will support someone with a program beneficial to those least able to pay."<sup>7</sup> Sadler also said he felt he had an obligation to the people of Texas to get Lee O'Daniel out of the governor's office.<sup>8</sup>

Harry Hines, in announcing his candidacy, revealed his disapproval of the governor by declaring he would pursue an altogether different campaign program from that characteristic of O'Daniel. Hines said:

At no time need you expect Harry Hines to play upon ignorance or emotion in an effort to bait voters. If sound basic fundamentals of government as envisioned by our forefathers, based on honesty, integrity and economy, is what our citizens want, then it is an insult to their intelligence to promise them impractical, unsound vote-getting bait. I do not want to be governor of Texas badly enough to snare voters by offering the glitter of an undeliverable lure. I shall make no promises that cannot be fulfilled . . . .<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>cf., Chapter II, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup>Houston Post, January 7, 1940.

<sup>8</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 10, 1940.

<sup>9</sup>Austin American, February 21, 1940.

Other candidates were Representative Albert Derden of Marlin, leader of the opposition responsible for defeat of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, and Mrs. James E. "Ma" Ferguson, former governor in her own right and wife of former governor Jim Ferguson, only Texas governor ever to be impeached. Derden said he was opposed to a sales tax "since it is a tax upon the income of the poor and would work undue hardship upon the small merchant." He favored an increase in natural resource taxes to take care of the pension program.<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Ferguson advocated a gross receipts tax of one half per cent to raise a sum of \$50,000,000 a year to pay the social security obligations.<sup>11</sup>

In a special hour long broadcast on April 3 O'Daniel announced that his name would be on the ballot as a candidate for re-election. In his speech he reviewed his struggle with the legislature over the issue of social security, defended his own efforts, and asked both for his own return to office and the defeat of the House members who had been responsible for failure of his program during the 1939 session. O'Daniel advocated his transactions tax as the most

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<sup>10</sup>Dallas Morning News, January 14, 1940; February 18, 1940.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., March 5, 1940.

practical means of raising the \$35,000,000 or \$40,000,000 needed to defray social security expenses.<sup>12</sup>

Thompson now said that the issues were clearly defined. He said:

At last Texas will have a battle of issues, instead of personal performers, and it will be the transactions tax, a multiple sales tax, versus a natural resources tax. It will be O'Daniel for the multiple sales tax and all the others against it. It will be O'Daniel favoring a tax on the poor and all the others on the rich oil and gas companies . . . .<sup>13</sup>

Sadler said the chief issue was the O'Daniel image or "O'Danielism". He declared the governor wanted to run things, that his plan would triple governmental costs, and would levy at least \$400,000,000 a year on Texans. He said:

He is already telling Texas Democrats to elect a legislature that will be composed of his 'yes-men', so that he can do as he pleases, which, if accomplished will make a one-man government like Communist Russia, transforming Texas into a dictatorship.<sup>14</sup>

It was generally conceded that the attitude of the old people and their friends and relatives would determine the ultimate outcome of the election. Some observers felt the governor had lost the vote of the pensioners by reason of

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<sup>12</sup>San Antonio Express, April 4, 1940.

<sup>13</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 7, 1940.

<sup>14</sup>Amarillo Daily News, April 5, 1940.



the failure of his tax program and by the decrease in pension checks since he came to office.<sup>15</sup> O'Daniel, however, seemed to feel sure of the support of the old people and business men. The combined vote of the two groups would almost certainly be enough to assure his victory. That he had their support the governor indicated as early as February when he said: "So long as the vast majority and the great masses of common citizens and the big class of conservative business men and women are with me I figure I am in good company."<sup>16</sup> He decried the waste of money spent in political campaigns when he said:

Every other year in Texas is a political year. You have heard some folks complain much about the federal government plowing under every other row of cotton and killing every other cow. They call that AAA or something. In Texas we plow under every other year with the political plowwow. We might call that the PPP -- Professional Politician Plunderers.<sup>17</sup>

O'Daniel opened his campaign at Waco, indicating that he hoped to clean house in the various governmental departments, particularly state boards, which he characterized

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<sup>15</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 11, 1940.

<sup>16</sup>Austin American, February 12, 1939.

<sup>17</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 26, 1940.

as "powerful oligarchies and juicy play-pretties for professional politicians." He said he wanted to replace present personnel with "our kind of people."

O'Daniel spoke from a brand new sound truck, topped with a reproduction of the capitol dome. O'Daniel and his family and the members of the band were together under the simulated capitol dome.<sup>18</sup>

O'Daniel said the voters should concentrate on electing representatives who would back the social security program and said the governor's race would be only "a side show." He contended again, as he had in 1938, that pensions for the old had to be paid.<sup>19</sup>

The governor's succeeding campaign speeches were variants of the Waco address. He repeatedly called for new representatives to replace the resistant fifty-six of the past session. He told the people: "what you need is a legislature that will pass the necessary tax bill." He castigated the Dallas Morning News as "the kingpin of the corporation press" and said if they ever printed the truth it was "by accident."<sup>20</sup> He condemned government officials

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<sup>18</sup>Waco Times Herald, July 3, 1940.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Dallas Morning News, July 16, 1940.

for "fighting your governor instead of co-operating with him" and referred to his opposition in the legislature as "a little bunch of pig-headed legislators" who had kept the voters of Texas from the exercise of their sovereign rights.<sup>21</sup> During the last week of the campaign in a speech at Wichita Falls O'Daniel said he was just out to have a good time, not to get votes, because he had enough votes. He said: "There ain't going to be no runoff."<sup>22</sup>

A total vote of 1,189,290 was cast in the election, which was nearly 75,000 more than in the 1938 election. O'Daniel won easily and without the necessity for a run-off since he polled more than 54.3 per cent of the total vote cast. According to the official tabulation by the State Democratic Executive Committee the final vote was as follows:

W. Lee O'Daniel	645,646
Ernest O. Thompson	256,923
Harry Hines	119,121
Miriam A. Ferguson	100,578
Jerry Sadler	61,396
Arlon B. "Cyclone Davis"	3,623
R. P. Condron	<u>2,003</u>
	1,189,290 <sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Houston Chronicle, July 19, 1940.

<sup>22</sup>Wichita Falls Times and Record News, July 24, 1940.

<sup>23</sup>Official certification of the Texas Democratic Primary of 1940 in the Texas Democratic Party Headquarters, Austin, Texas.

In his speech of March 9 O'Daniel made reference to the fact that of the fifty-six House members who had opposed his program in the preceding session only twelve had been re-elected.<sup>24</sup>

That O'Daniel's victory at the polls was due entirely to his own efforts was indicated ten days after the election when State Democratic Chairman E. B. Germany had to advertise for O'Daniel supporters to help him frame a program and name a delegation to the convention. In spite of the fact that in Dallas County O'Daniel led his nearest opponent by nearly 6000 votes, Germany was sure of only a handful who admitted being for the governor. Germany stated that O'Daniel had no organization in Dallas or any other county that he knew of.<sup>25</sup>

A survey conducted by the Texas Surveys of Public Opinion indicated that O'Daniel had reached the peak of his popularity in October of 1940, and that seventy per cent of the people questioned "approved him as governor." The poll indicated that O'Daniel's greatest support came from rural areas and from among poor classes. The larger the city and

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<sup>24</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, March 9, 1940.

<sup>25</sup>Dallas Morning News, September 4, 1940.

the more affluent the citizens the less support he received. Seventy-seven per cent of the farmers voted for O'Daniel. Joe Belden, director of the survey, cited O'Daniel's use of radio as one of the main reasons for his popularity. It was Belden's opinion that O'Daniel "brought many voters into the fold" by sheer constancy of effort, through his weekly broadcasts from the Mansion.<sup>26</sup> Belden declared that most of the people were for O'Daniel "just because he is a good Christian man." He said there were few of them who were able to give any concrete reasons for favoring the governor. One woman said "I'll get a pension soon and he'll give it to me." Another said "He's God's son." Belden said most of those interviewed were like one East Texan who said of O'Daniel: "He's a good man. It ain't his fault he didn't do nothing."<sup>27</sup>

As the new term approached, the press was not optimistic about the political situation in the state. As the Dallas Morning News put it:

We come near the assembly of a new legislature with nothing in the record to show: (2) What tax plan the governor favors; (b) What tax plan the people favor; (c) What tax plan the Texas Democracy favors.

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<sup>26</sup>Texas Surveys of Public Opinion, October 13, 1940.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

The governor comes once more to bat. If he has any new or better plan, there is not an inkling of it in the air about Austin.<sup>28</sup>

In his annual message to the legislature on January 16 Governor O'Daniel submitted a \$61,000,000 tax program. He proposed to raise this amount by means of a one and six tenths per cent transactions tax, with an additional sum of \$11,000,000 a year to be derived from an omnibus tax measure on natural resources and public utilities. He also recommended that the state ad valorem tax be abolished.

It was the governor's opinion that the state's part of the entire social security obligation would run around \$40,000,000. He felt sure that the transactions tax would bring in enough revenue to take care of this obligation and also the loss of revenue resulting from the abolishment of the ad valorem tax.<sup>29</sup>

O'Daniel's second inauguration was held at high noon on January 21, 1941. Twenty thousand people gathered on the Capitol grounds to hear the speeches, eat the barbecue, and dance in the street to the music of a band made up almost

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<sup>28</sup>Dallas Morning News, December 10, 1940.

<sup>29</sup>Senate Journal, 47th Leg., Reg. Session, 1941, pp. 22-35.

altogether of new personnel. There was talk that Leon, former director and soloist of the band, claimed he had quit O'Daniel because his conscience wouldn't let him work "for a man who broke his pledge and had no consideration for anyone but himself."<sup>30</sup>

The legislature convened on January 27, 1941. Within a week it was common talk in Austin that a bill introduced by Representative Grover Cleveland Morris of Greenville was the bill which would ultimately become law.<sup>31</sup>

Immediate occasion

While the Morris omnibus tax bill, known as House Bill Number Eight, was still being widely discussed, O'Daniel shocked the legislators with a new message which called for the immediate appropriation of the sum of \$26,820,000 annually in order that the state could meet its obligations to the elderly citizens, helpless children, the blind, and retired teachers.<sup>32</sup>

O'Daniel's plan was not well received in the legislature. His proposal, introduced as House Bill Number 322,

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<sup>30</sup>Wichita Falls Times-News, July 18, 1941.

<sup>31</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 2, 1941.

<sup>32</sup>House Journal, op. cit., p. 421.

died in committee.<sup>33</sup> Lynn Landrum, writing in the Dallas Morning News, said of his bill:

The governor ought to be ashamed. To demand that the Legislature take twenty-six millions out of a fund which stands already to have thirty millions less than nothing does three things: (1) it gulls the old people. (2) It cruelly passes the buck to the Legislature. (3) It shames whatever claims to statesmanship the governor may have.<sup>34</sup>

#### Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home" in background	Band
Station Announcement	
Promotional Episodes:	
Washington-on-the-Brazos	O'Daniel
Music: "Faith of our Fathers"	Band
Southwestern Fat Stock Show	O'Daniel
Music: "The Old Corral"	Band
Corpus Christi Naval Base	O'Daniel
Speech Proper	O'Daniel

#### SPEECH OF MARCH 9, 1941

In the speech O'Daniel sought to persuade the House, particularly the new members, to vote to bring his appropriation bill, frozen in committee, out onto the floor for a vote. He did not make any direct appeal to the representatives. Instead he spoke as if he were making a report

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Dallas Morning News, February 2, 1941.



to the people on the activities of the new members they had sent to the House to replace those who had opposed Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve in the previous session. By implication, however, he did try to get legislative support. He let the new members know that an uncooperative stand might prove as disadvantageous to their political careers as it had to their predecessors in office. The governor stated his theme only after he had devoted one of his four topical points to tactics designed to mollify the members and to put them in a mood conducive to the acceptance of his premise. Midway of the speech he finally stated his theme:

In my opinion, the only chance the New Members and the reliable Old Members who really want to pay Social Security have, is to muster their forces tomorrow morning, Monday, and vote to get this Social Security appropriation, House Bill No. 322, on to the floor for a vote before this other side forces them to vote on this puny omnibus bill . . . .<sup>35</sup>

As shown in the format O'Daniel preceded his speech proper with three short promotional episodes with interspersing musical numbers. Since the three introductory episodes were intended to advertise Texas, O'Daniel altered his usual greeting by adding a special invitation to out-

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<sup>35</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, March 9, 1941.

of-town visitors. In it he represented himself to the audience as the very epitome of Texas hospitality when he said:

Again I want to send you all greetings and salutations and to extend the warm hand of Texas friendship and Texas hospitality to all visitors within the gates of our State, and invite you to be sure and drive by Austin while you are here and see the many beautiful buildings we have here, and the beautiful mountain scenery up the winding Colorado River west of the city, and also be sure to stop by the GOVERNOR'S MANSION and say hello to all of us here in our Home Sweet Home . . . .

O'Daniel continued to register affability as he began the first of his promotional episodes. He said: "I want to send greetings to the large number of friends we saw down at Washington-on-the-Brazos last Sunday." He told of inspecting modern instruments of war and in doing so managed to reveal himself to the people as a man of deep religious convictions. He took advantage of the tradition associated with the historic city of Washington-on-the-Brazos to draw an analogy between the battle equipment of modern times and that which early Texans had used in their struggle for independence. He made the point that the people of contemporary times needed the kind of moral and spiritual courage which marked the founding fathers and which, so he declared, came from an abiding faith in God. At the conclusion of the episode the band played "Faith of our Father's" as a musical

restatement of O'Daniel's contention.

In the second promotional episode O'Daniel held the center of interest even though he was advertising the Fat Stock Show in Fort Worth on the coming Tuesday. He said he was going to the show for two reasons: one, because it was Governor's Day and two, because it was his birthday. At the conclusion of his comments the band emphasized the western theme of his discussion by playing "The Old Corral."

In the third promotional episode O'Daniel told of his plans to go from the Fat Stock Show to Corpus Christi to take part in the dedication of the new naval base there. In the episode he sought to gain ethos for himself by revealing his enthusiasm for and pride in Texas. He said the Corpus Christi Naval Base was one "that has been constructed and finished ahead of schedule." He added: "That's the way we do things in Texas." With this as his premise he went on to promote Texas as an ideal site for factories and industry of all kinds. He called attention to the mild climate and said that when work was stopped up north by extreme cold weather "here in Texas the nice bright sunshiny days follow one another and work keeps right on."

The governor's word choice in his greeting and in his promotional episodes was not only appropriate but impressive. By means of concrete and image-evoking words he brought his

descriptions within the perspective of his listeners as definite sensory awareness. He spoke of "the warm hand of Texas friendship", "the gates of our state, "drive by Austin", "beautiful buildings," "beautiful scenery up the winding Colorado River west of the city", "big search-light which would automatically locate the plane", "anti-aircraft guns", "banks of the Brazos", "105 years ago", "crude equipment", "ox-carts", "take the day off", "cowboys and cowgirls", "stockmen and FFF boys", "jump part of the way across this big state to Corpus Christi, about 500 miles", "on the Gulf of Mexico", "big ship-building factories, and ammunition factories, and tin smelters, and taining bases", "work continues practically 365 days in the year", "man-power and the desire and knowledge and ability to really get things done."

O'Daniel went abruptly from his third promotional episode into the introduction to his speech proper. Again he showed his good will for the people by saying "Now, friends, I want to take this opportunity to thank all of you folks for the many letters which you have written me asking what is causing the delay in getting something done with reference to our Number One Problem . . . ." By calling his listeners "friends" and "you folks" he used his tactics of 1939 to stress the intimacy of his relationship with his constituents. In so doing, he pleased his regular listeners and warned his

opponents that he was a force to contend with. Also, by speaking of the "many letters" which people had written him to inquire why something wasn't being done "with reference to our Number One Problem" he let the legislators know that the people, the voters of Texas, shared his eagerness to see the social security problem terminated.

In his first point O'Daniel absolved the new members of responsibility for the delay in getting a pension tax bill passed. He declared: "It is not the fault of these 94 New Members that about half the session has produced no results so far as getting the Number One problem solved." The governor assured the audience that the new members had "conducted themselves in a most becoming manner. He cited several examples: they had patiently waited and had not done a lot of loud talking to attract attention; they had done everything they could to combat the clever tricks of the old members; they had gone from day to day just waiting for an opportunity to take part in the State's Number One Problem. O'Daniel, reasoning inductively from specific instance, concluded that the new members were conscientiously trying to do the job they had been elected to do.

In his second sub-point O'Daniel declared that the new members now found themselves in a difficult spot in

that they were faced with a choice of bills: a gasoline processing bill and the Morris omnibus bill. O'Daniel dismissed the gasoline processing tax bill by means of a causal inference in which he argued in a vague and general way that "even people who think it is a good bill know that it cannot be passed." To prove that the omnibus bill was unsatisfactory, he compared it to Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve of the previous session. Although O'Daniel in 1939 had strongly advocated passage of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, he now spoke disparagingly of it, referring to it as a "stinking" bill. Arguing from analogy, he said the omnibus bill was even more stinking because it would bring in less money than would have Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. Without giving any authority for his statistics O'Daniel said the Morris bill would raise only about one fourth or fifth of the money needed. To conclude the point O'Daniel reasoned causally that although the new members were not pleased with either of the pending bills they had no alternative but to vote for one or the other.

Having established the fact that he was fair and considerate by conceding the difficult predicament of the new members, O'Daniel next began to press them to take their stand with him. He said: "It is now time for the new members

to rise up and fight." He said he had sensed that the remnant of the old 56'ers were trying to manipulate the new members into voting for the omnibus bill and had submitted his own bill in an effort to "head it off." He said a month had passed and "the crowd on the other side" had fought O'Daniel's bill so successfully that they had defeated every effort made by O'Daniel's supporters to get the bill out of committee and on to the floor for a vote. He said the next day, Monday March 10, was the crucial day. By means of a series of causal inferences O'Daniel tried to convince his general audience and the legislators that the only way to pay the social security obligations "in accordance with the mandate of the people" was to vote to get his bill out of committee. He said legislators would find copies of his speech on their desks in the morning so that any of them who had missed the broadcast could read what was being done to them. He strengthened one of his arguments by means of flattery when he reasoned that the members would surely do their part when they understood the situation. To show that he was fair O'Daniel said he was not asking them to vote for or against any bill. That, he said, was their business. He was telling them, however, that he thought some clever people with ulterior motives were trying to mislead them and that

they yet had time to keep from making a very serious mistake. The governor admitted that there were "some mighty smart people" fighting social security but, he said the new members were just as smart, or smarter, "and they can whip them by sheer numbers if they will not listen to their clever arguments and will bristle up and do what you folks back home elected them to do."

For reasons that he did not make clear O'Daniel was insistent that passage of his bill should precede passage of the Morris bill. He did not say why he wanted this done, but he did reason causally that

There is no sane argument on the fact of the earth that can prove to an unbiased mind that it is wrong to figure out the amount of money needed FIRST and then make appropriation for that amount of money, and AFTER that appropriation is made then pass a tax bill to fit the appropriation.

He implemented the argument for credibility by implying the duplicity of the legislators and by a strong motive appeal to the security of the pensioners. Using antithesis to emphasize and dramatize his contention, he again argued causally: "These 56'ers are trying to argue that a tax bill should be passed first, simply because they want to pass a little tax bill (if any) that will let the old folks



slowly starve to death while their wealthy friends roll in luxury."

From a conciliatory beginning O'Daniel was now giving the House members to understand that he would brook no resistance. In making a motive appeal to the duty of the members he also reminded them that the people who elected them could also replace them if they failed to do the task which they had been sent to do. To make sure they understood him he concluded the point by means of a deductive inference. Expressed as a hypothetical syllogism it takes the following form:

Major premise: Since these New Members know what a terrible whipping the 56'ers got at the polls last summer, when only twelve out of the 56 were reelected to office, I do not believe they are going to pay much attention to them regarding Social Security matters . . . .

Minor premise: These New Members know what a terrible whipping the 56'ers got at the polls last summer when only twelve out of the 56 were reelected.

Conclusion: I do not believe they are going to pay much attention to them regarding Social Security matters.

In his third point O'Daniel explained what his bill was and why he had presented it to the legislature. To make plain what his bill was the governor again resorted to analogy. He said that on January 27 the House passed a bill, called House Bill Number Thirteen, appropriating money from the

General Fund to take care of payments for the retired teachers but none for the other three divisions of social security. To demonstrate his fairness O'Daniel said he had not felt this bill was just so he introduced his bill, which was exactly like House Bill Number Thirteen except that it called for an appropriation from the General Fund of Twenty-Six Million Dollars to take care of all the social security services.

To justify his action and to lead his listeners to the conclusion which he desired O'Daniel posed two deductive inferences in the form of rhetorical questions. Recast as hypothetical syllogisms the two inferences take the following forms:

1. Major premise: If the teachers are to be paid out of the General Fund, don't you think the old folks, orphans, blind, and dependent children should also be paid out of the same fund?  
  
Minor premise: The teachers are to be paid out of the General Fund.  
  
Conclusion: The others should also be paid out of the General Fund.
2. Major premise: If 83 House Members signed a bill to pay the teachers in full, don't you think they should be fair enough to bring my bill, which would pay all four divisions of Social Security, out for a vote?

Minor premise: The 83 House members signed such a bill.

Conclusion: They should be fair enough to bring my bill out for a vote.

In his final point O'Daniel said: "Your 94 New Members can correct this matter . . . ." In this manner he let the people know they were responsible for the new members and he let the new members know they were responsible to the people. He said he hoped they would vote the next day to bring his bill out of committee. In case anyone should question his motives he said again: "I am not trying to tell any of the members how to vote." He said "let them each vote as they please." In his next words he indicated that they would do well to vote as he asked: "but I want to know how each one of them stands on this important matter." He reminded his listeners and the members alike of the voters' importance in the situation: "and I believe that the folks who elected them also want to know how they stand." In motive appeals to the duty of the members and to the security of the people O'Daniel concluded the point with a causal argument:

I want to repeat that it is my honest belief that unless these New Members stand up and fight for their rights tomorrow morning and bring out that HB. No. 322

and vote on it, this session of the Legislature will end with the same failure that the last Legislature experienced at the hands of the merciless 56'ers and their associates . . . .

Since half of the current session had passed with nothing accomplished, it is possible that O'Daniel meant this statement to prepare his audience for a repetition of the legislative stalemate of two years before.

In the conclusion O'Daniel absolved himself of any responsibility for delay in getting a tax bill. "I, as Governor, can only make recommendations to the Legislature, and make reports to you citizens." He put blame on the members. "The Legislature is the only part of our Government that can pass laws." For the third time he insisted that he was not trying to tell anyone how to vote. But, he repeated, unless his bill was voted on before a vote was taken on tax bills "this session will end the same as the last session ended two years ago."

Early in the speech O'Daniel had stressed his own high character when he said: "What we need today is . . . .the honesty to decide what is right, the determination to fight for that which is right, and the faith of our convictions." He brought the speech to an end on the same note:

This is Governor W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas speaking and thanking you for listening, and inviting each and every one of you to go to the church of your choice today and every Sunday, and take the little boys and girls along with you. Remember, as the twig is bent the tree inclines. GOODBYE.

#### BROADCAST OF MARCH 16, 1941

##### Antecedent action

On March 10 the House members met and remained in session fourteen hours. In the course of the day-and-night session O'Daniel's supporters made an attempt to bring out his \$26,000,000 appropriation plan for a vote. They were not successful in their efforts but late in the day the House did vote to print the governor's bill so that it could be passed on at a later date. O'Daniel's supporters were also instrumental in adding amendments to the Morris bill, thereby increasing its revenue possibilities from \$14,000,000 to close to \$30,000,000. Finally the House passed the Morris bill as amended by a vote of 136 to 8.<sup>36</sup>

The House had now passed a tax bill which would bring in an added revenue of some \$30,000,000, but as the week passed the Senate had not yet acted on the measure.

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<sup>36</sup>House Journal, op. cit., I, 1066-1170.

Immediate occasion

Political observers and legislators were much puzzled by the governor's behavior in the early months of 1941 and the speech of the preceding Sunday, in which he categorized Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve as a "stinking" bill, had added to their confusion. In his January 16 message to the joint session of the legislature O'Daniel recommended that no more funds should be appropriated for any purpose unless the comptroller certified that there was adequate money in the General Fund to take care of the appropriation.<sup>37</sup> Then on February 10 he submitted his appropriation bill, appropriating \$26,000,000 out of a treasury so bare that salaries were having to be paid on the basis of deficit financing. Until a tax bill could be passed to pump needed revenue into the General Fund O'Daniel's bill, if passed, would have to be paid in the same manner. The lack of consideration accorded the bill was due to legislative unwillingness to commit the state to the payment of such a large sum by deficit financing. O'Daniel, however, was insistent that his bill be passed ahead of the Morris tax bill and was really doing everything he could to

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<sup>37</sup>Senate Journal, op. cit., pp. 9-59.

discourage passage of the Morris bill at all.<sup>38</sup>

Representative Howard G. Hartzog of Fort Lavaca had been an ardent supporter of Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve two years before. He was stunned when he heard O'Daniel, in his speech of March 9, say the Morris bill was unsatisfactory because it was modelled after "that stinking Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve." Hartzog was a friend of and considered to be a spokesman for the governor. When queried with reference to O'Daniel's motives in pressing for passage of his appropriation bill ahead of passage of the Morris bill, Representative Hartzog seemed as bewildered as anyone else. He did finally suggest that the governor might be resorting to a ruse to create a situation which could lead to the ultimate passage of his transactions tax, the bill which he had really wanted all along.<sup>39</sup>

The Dallas Morning News was also of the opinion that underlying the governor's strange inconsistencies was his continuing hope that his transactions tax bill might still be recalled and passed.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>O'Daniel Radio Scripts, March 9, 1941.

<sup>39</sup>Fort Worth Star Telegram, March 10, 1941.

<sup>40</sup>Dallas Morning News, February 12, 1941.

## Format

The broadcast of March 16, 1941 consisted of two speeches on entirely different subjects, separated by a musical number, "America", played by the band. Since only the first speech was on the subject of social security legislation, the second is disregarded in the analysis.

## SPEECH OF MARCH 16, 1941

In the speech O'Daniel undertook to place the House members in an awkward position by making support of his bill the test of their concern for the plight of the people who elected them. O'Daniel stated his theme in the second of his three topical points when he said: "Now that a tax bill has been passed, which is large enough to pay the appropriation bill, they can have no good excuse for not passing the Twenty-Six Million Dollar appropriation bill tomorrow . . . ."

O'Daniel made his initial contact with the people pleasurable to them and beneficial to his own ethos. He again extended a welcome to all visitors to visit him in his Home Sweet Home. He sent greetings to the people he had seen on his recent trip to Fort Worth and said it was always "fun to go back to old friends to celebrate a birthday."



He said he had been the recipient of many attentions during the past week, including three birthday parties and many cards and letters and gifts from his radio listeners. He made it plain that he was a well loved and popular governor.

Continuing his introduction O'Daniel undertook to convince the audience that it was his report of the preceding Sunday that had finally stirred the legislature into activity. He said: "There were many Legislators present at the program last Sunday, and many of them left here determined to fight to the last ditch on the following day."

In his first point O'Daniel declared: "One of the most hard-fought legislative battles in the history of the state took place on March 10." To illustrate and amplify his contention he added: "the members locked themselves in and others out and stayed in there and really fought for over 14 hours." In a series of causal arguments O'Daniel sought to prove that even though the House had finally passed the Morris omnibus bill, the results of the long session had been gratifying to O'Daniel and his supporters. They had, he said, fought down bitter opposition to bring O'Daniel's bill out of committee. He said it would be printed and ready for a vote during the coming week. They

had also amended and changed the Morris bill until they had completely "deodorized" it and it was now "as fragrant as the rose." He said, moreover, that as a result of all the voting he now knew "exactly who is on our side with reference to paying old age pensions."

O'Daniel seemed to feel that the Omnibus bill might eventually pass and he wished to take some credit for its conditions and stipulations. He said his reasons for referring to the bill as "stinking" were because in its original state it would not have raised enough money to take care of all the social security needs. But now, he said, "our side" and "our boys" had greatly improved it. He implied that March 10 had been a great day for O'Daniel and his "side."

In his second point O'Daniel said there were some members who conscientiously had been against voting the appropriation bill on the grounds that payment of the bill would involve deficit financing. O'Daniel now contended that their objection had been removed with passage of the Morris bill which assured tax revenue of around \$30,000,000. In his argument he ignored the fact that the Morris bill had not yet been passed by the Senate.

That O'Daniel's deducting inference was premised from

a half-truth becomes plain when it is stated as a hypothetical question:

Major premise: If a tax bill has been passed which will guarantee sufficient money to take care of the appropriation bill, there is no longer any reason for not voting for House Bill No. 322.

Minor premise: Such a bill has been passed.

Conclusion: There is no longer any reason for not voting for House Bill No. 322.

In the inference O'Daniel was careful not to say the tax bill had been passed. By implication he certainly gave his listeners the impression that such was the case. The argument represented another case of proof by innuendo.

O'Daniel apparently felt the need of defending his bill on other grounds than a half-truth. In his third point therefore he sought to justify his appropriation bill by contending that what was fair for one was fair for all. He said he was against deficit spending but as some people were "only when it applies to old folks." He made himself sound both reasonable and fair when he declared that he wanted deficit financing stopped but that when it was stopped he wanted it stopped for everybody. He pointed out that every employee of the state whose salary came out of the General Fund, including himself, was being paid by deficit spending. By means of a rhetorical question he

asked: "So why draw a line when it comes to paying the old folks by deficit spending?"

O'Daniel's reasoning was deductive and his inference, recast into the form of a hypothetical syllogism, takes the following pattern:

Major premise: If deficit spending is such a sin when it comes to paying the old folks, why is it such a virtue when used to pay salaries of the House Members, who voted for it 148 strong?

Minor premise: Deficit spending is a virtue when used to pay salaries of the House Members who voted for it 148 strong.

Conclusion: It is not a sin when used to pay the old folks.

In his arguments O'Daniel made it clear that the state was operating in the red to the extent that even salaries of state officials and employees had to be paid by deficit spending. By contending that his \$26,000,000 appropriation bill should be passed and paid in the same manner he sacrificed sound and logical reasoning to the good will and continuing support of his constituents. Since this was probably his purpose, the arguments must be assumed to have been effective.

In a final argument under the point O'Daniel again reasoned deductively when he used a rhetorical question

to ask if it was such a sin to pay the old folks by deficit spending, then why was it a virtue to use it to pay the teachers? He was referring to the bill which the House had already passed, House Bill Number Thirteen, to appropriate money for the teacher retirement payments. In this case his inference, recast as a hypothetical syllogism, seems to reflect sound logic.

Major premise: If deficit spending is such a sin when paying the old folks, why is it such a virtue when 83 House Members at this session of the Legislature signed a bill to pay the Teacher Retirement by deficit spending . . . .

Minor premise: House members did sign such a bill.

Conclusion: It is not a sin to pay the old folks by deficit spending.

To conclude the point O'Daniel again stressed his personal fairness when he said:

I am against deficit spending for the payment of State money to anybody, but until we get deficit spending stopped I am not in favor of paying some favored few by deficit spending and drawing the line when it comes to paying the old folks, the helpless children, and the indigent blind.

O'Daniel concluded the speech by saying the situation in the legislature appeared "muddled" to him and he hoped "it will be straightened out tomorrow when the members will have an opportunity to vote for House Bill Number

322 . . . ." He said that if they did not do so he feared revenue from the Morris bill would shrink or "run down so many rat-holes before its final allocation" that the potential recipients would get very little "if any" benefit from it. Having given his listeners the idea that the Morris bill without his bill would be valueless, the governor apparently hoped to assure the defeat of the Morris bill.

In the speeches of 1939 O'Daniel had repeatedly urged his listeners to write their representatives for the purpose of urging them to vote for Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve. In the present speech he changed his tactics somewhat. He told his listeners they had some "mighty good members" serving them in the legislature and he suggested they find out who they were and write to them. Earlier in the speech he had said, in referring to the long battle on the House floor on March 10, "we now know who is on our side." He therefore made it plain to the representatives that he was prepared to let the people know who was friend and who was foe among them. He ended the speech with the ironic comment that "I am sure they will appreciate hearing from you."

## BROADCAST OF MARCH 23, 1941

## Antecedent action

The governor's supporters in the House made a desperate attempt to pass his appropriation bill on March 17. They succeeded in getting the bill brought before the House for consideration but Morris fought its passage. Morris contended that the Senate had not yet passed a tax bill and until that was done a deficit of \$30,000,000 in the General Fund seemed likely. He argued that if the appropriation bill was passed in the House it would be necessary to pass another tax bill in order to raise more revenue and he said "you know a sales tax is the only way you can do that." Morris further argued that unless there was money in the General Fund to take care of the pension payments the federal government would not put up money to match the state's part. A telegram was rushed to Paul V. McNutt of the Social Security Administration at Washington and its reply confirmed Morris's contention that the federal government would not put up money to match the warrants with which the elderly, under O'Daniel's plan, would have to be paid. Morris moved that O'Daniel's appropriation bill be killed and the motion carried by a vote of 69 to 64. This meant that O'Daniel's bill was now disposed of

for the session and could be recalled for further consideration only by a two thirds vote of the members.<sup>41</sup>

#### Immediate occasion

A few days later, on March 20, O'Daniel's friends made an attempt to recall House Bill Number 322. Their effort was voted down by a vote of 65 to 64.

#### Format

The broadcast of March 23, 1941 consisted of a political speech preceded by a violin solo, "Souvenir", played by a distinguished guest on the program, David Rubinoff.

#### SPEECH OF MARCH 23, 1941

In the speech O'Daniel sought to persuade the audience to contact their representatives and try to induce them to recall House Bill Number 322, defeated the preceding week, for another vote. He delayed stating his theme until midway of the speech, in the third of his four topical points. By so doing he gave himself a chance to build up a case for the appropriation bill. In projecting his theme, he said:

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<sup>41</sup>House Journal, op. cit., I, p. 1264.



the bill is dead . . . . unless you folks back home remind your representatives that you are a part of this Texas State government and demand proper representation at their hands, and can get a lot of your House Members to vote differently.

After Rubinoff's solo O'Daniel immediately demonstrated his good will for the audience by declaring that his speech was, as his other speeches in the past had been, for the purpose of keeping his pre-inaugural promise to let the folks at home know what was going on in Austin. By means of a definition he dignified the humble lives of his listeners: "My idea of Democracy is the old-fashioned idea that the Government belongs to the people and by the people I mean all of the people." If the government belonged to the people, he said, it only followed that they could manage their government better if they knew all the facts. He said: "I am glad to give you the facts by radio."

O'Daniel, apparently intent upon preparing the audience for possible failure of the social security program for the second time, admitted that he was greatly discouraged. He said: "I can see some of the same type of maneuvering and shifting going on now that I saw two years ago and I fear it will bring the same results."

In his first point O'Daniel said it was his bill, House Bill Number 322, which had thrown the legislature

"into a tailspin." To explain what his bill was O'Daniel compared it to another bill, House Bill Number Thirteen. House Bill Number Thirteen, he said, was an appropriation bill to take care of payments due retired teachers. He said it had recently received the votes of eighty-three members of the House, or a majority. To enhance his ethos by demonstrating his fairness O'Daniel said he had not felt it was right to appropriate money to pay the teachers and leave out the old folks, the dependent children, and the indigent blind. He had therefore drafted a bill exactly like House Bill Number Thirteen except that his bill included all four divisions of Social Security instead of just the teachers. He said the House members who signed the bill to appropriate money to pay the teachers were now faced with the same kind of bill to pay the other social security services. In a deductive inference expressed as a rhetorical question he asked: "If they were in favor of paying the teachers, how could they refuse to vote an appropriation to pay the old folks, the helpless children, and the indigent blind?" Expressed as a hypothetical syllogism, O'Daniel's argument seems sound:

Major premise: If they were in favor of paying the teachers, how could they refuse to vote an appropriation to pay the old folks, the helpless children, and the indigent blind?

Minor premise: They were in favor of paying the teachers.

Conclusion: They could not refuse to vote an appropriation to pay the old folks, the helpless children, and the indigent blind.

By bolstering his logic with a motive appeal to the security of the pensioners O'Daniel practically assured ready acceptance by his general audience of his contention.

O'Daniel declared: "Every effort was made to keep my bill from coming before the House." He said a group of "courageous new members and many reliable old members" had led the fight to get his bill out of committee, where it had been frozen for several weeks. They were finally able, he said, to get the bill printed and ready for later consideration. Then he said "they had another hard battle last Monday, March 17th, to get House Bill No. 322 up for a vote."

The governor, having utilized a climactic development to create interest, now added suspense to his technique of persuasion. He abruptly dropped the history of the bill and, without drawing any conclusion to the point, went quickly into his second point. In it he stated:

H.B. No. 322 . . . . is the most clear-cut issue regarding the payment of old-age pensions and other Social Security obligations that has ever come before the Legislature since I have been Governor.

O'Daniel initiated the point by declaring that the best way to explain his bill was to read it. He then read the bill in its entirety. When he had finished, he restated its main conditions in his own words. He said it did not include any of the controversial matters and it did not include a tax issue of any kind. He reasoned causally that it was fair and sound because it was based on what the legislature had instructed the Department of Public Welfare to pay. He said:

Any schoolboy would know that anybody who is really in favor of paying old folks and helpless children, and the indigent blind, and the teachers would vote for this bill -- and anybody who is against paying them would vote against this bill.

By using a schoolboy to symbolize the least knowledgeable part of a literate whole O'Daniel effectively reduced the problem to its simplest proportions: members who voted for his bill were friends of the poor and needy and wanted to help them; members who voted against the bill were foes of the poor and needy and did not want to help them.

The governor admitted that some members might vote against the bill because they had some other idea as to how the payments should be made. But, he argued causally, "they could not devise a method of paying the old folks that is more positive and certain than this method." Also,

he again reasoned causally, if any of the members had different ideas as to how the pensioners should be paid, they were not sure their ideas would be adopted. He concluded the point by means of a deductive inference expressed as a rhetorical question. Restated as a hypothetical syllogism, it takes the following pattern:

Major premise: If they have no assurance that any other plan will be adopted, why should they vote against this plan and help to kill it?

Minor premise: They have no such assurance.

Conclusion: They should not vote against this plan and help to kill it.

Having created interest in the bill by means of climax and suspense, O'Daniel was now ready to reveal the purpose of his speech. He told the audience the bill was dead unless they could persuade enough representatives to change their votes to make its recall assured. He explained that his bill was subject to recall only if two thirds of the members requested such action. He was not optimistic about the outcome of the project which he had in mind. In a deductive inference expressed as a rhetorical question he asked: "If they could not get a two thirds majority when they voted on it, how could we expect them to get two-thirds of the members to bring it up for another vote?" Expressed as a hypothetical syllogism the defeatism of the minor premise

becomes plain:

Major premise: If they could not get a two thirds majority when they voted on it, how could we expect them to get two-thirds of the members to bring it up for another vote?

Minor premise: They could not get a two thirds majority when they voted on it.

Conclusion: We cannot expect them to get two thirds of the members to bring it up for another vote.

O'Daniel told the audience that he was going to read a list of the House members who had voted for the bill. He told them to listen carefully to ascertain if their representative's name was on the list. He said, in a causal inference: "If I do not name your Representatives, you can find out . . . . why they did not vote for this appropriation bill . . . ."

O'Daniel then read the list of members who voted for House Bill Number 322, and the names of the eleven members who were absent on March 10. When he had finished, he concluded the point by saying simply: "There is the record." He implied that the people knew what to do about it.

In his final point O'Daniel said: "The members who did not vote for it can do their own explaining to you why they did not vote for it, providing you . . . . ask them for an explanation."

The governor was well aware that his audience in contacting the representatives would meet with some stiff resistance. In the point he therefore sought to supply them with answers to possible protestations from the House members. He first restated a possibility mentioned earlier: "Perhaps they will tell you that they have a better plan. . . ." Reasoning causally, O'Daniel said they had no assurance that their plan would work and that it "would be very regrettable" if they failed to produce a plan that would do as much for the pensioners as his plan would do.

O'Daniel then said: "They may tell you, as some have told me, that to have made this appropriation would have been deficit financing." To instruct his audience O'Daniel argued deductively by means of a rhetorical question. Expressed as a hypothetical syllogism his deductive inference takes the following form:

Major premise: If they tell you that, ask them why it would be deficit financing to pay out \$26,000,000 of a fund after they had just passed a tax bill which they claim will bring in over \$30,000,000?

Minor premise: They had just passed such a bill.

Conclusion: It would not be deficit financing to pay out \$26,000,000.

The governor had to admit to his listeners that the tax bill to which he referred had passed only in the House and had not yet been considered by the Senate. Realizing that this fact nullified the argument just projected O'Daniel then said that the same number of votes that would have passed the appropriation bill would also serve to pass any kind of tax bill for enough money to pay the appropriation. Recast as a hypothetical syllogism his deductive inference, expressed as a rhetorical question, takes the following form:

Major premise: If they can raise the necessary money with the same number of votes, how can they say it is deficit financing?

Minor premise: They can raise the necessary money with the same number of votes.

Conclusion: They cannot say it is deficit financing.

In the two deductive inferences O'Daniel first argued that his bill did not represent deficit spending and then he argued that even if it did the legislature could change its status by voting a tax bill to support it. The second did little to strengthen the first since what the legislators had the power to do and what they would do were two entirely different things and O'Daniel in projecting his argument took more for granted than he had any legitimate



right to do.

In the main O'Daniel justified his bill on the grounds that what was fair for one was fair for all. In a deductive inference expressed as a rhetorical question O'Daniel asked: "If they really are opposed to deficit financing, ask some of them why they signed the appropriation bill No. 13 for paying the Teacher Retirement by deficit financing?" The inference, recast into the form of a hypothetical syllogism, appears to be sound:

Major premise: If they really are opposed to deficit financing, ask some of them why they signed the appropriation bill No. 13 for paying the Teacher Retirement by deficit financing?

Minor premise: They signed the appropriation bill for paying the Teacher Retirement by deficit financing.

Conclusion: They are not really opposed to deficit financing.

O'Daniel was bitter in his condemnation of the legislators for adhering to a double standard. He said "every dollar that has been spent by the State of Texas out of the General Fund since August 31, 1931 has been deficit spending." He also said that on the morning after they had voted down House Bill Number 322 he found on his desk another appropriation bill which the House had passed without one single dissenting vote. The bill appropriated \$200,000 for

payment of their salaries. His inference, like those preceding it, was expressed as a rhetorical question. Recast as a hypothetical syllogism it takes the following form:

Major premise: If they are so opposed to paying the old folks and others in accordance with the constitution and the statutes out of the General Fund, why do they favor paying themselves out of that same fund?

Minor premise: They are opposed to paying the old folks and others out of the General Fund.

Conclusion: They should not favor paying themselves out of the same fund.

O'Daniel was plainly arguing from an over-simplified premise, implying that the functional operation of the state government was of no more importance than the payment of the pensions. By bolstering his logic with good will for the pensioners he probably assured its ready acceptance by the general audience.

In his final argument O'Daniel again reasoned deductively, expressing his inference as a rhetorical question. Recast as a hypothetical syllogism it takes the following form:

Major premise: Why do some of these Legislators play the role of Dr. Jekyll when it comes to writing hot checks for their own salaries, and then play the role of Mr. Hyde when it comes

to paying the old folks, the helpless children, the indigent blind, and school teachers?

Minor premise: Some of these legislators play the role of Dr. Jekyll when it comes to writing hot checks for their own salaries.

Conclusion: They should not play the role of Mr. Hyde when it comes to paying the old folks, the helpless children, the indigent blind, and school teachers.

Not only did O'Daniel use allusion when he referred to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde but he actually used a double allusion. He apparently had remembered with resentment that two years before Senator Will D. Pace of Tyler had referred to him as a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." Now he used the Senator's own words to imply the duplicity of his colleagues in the House.

In his conclusion to the point O'Daniel argued causally that he was opposed to deficit financing but as long as it was used for some purposes he failed to see why it should not also be used to pay pensions. In the argument, as in all the arguments preceding, he seemed motivated by a desire to enhance his own ethos. Also as in the other arguments he relied upon emotional appeal to carry conviction to his listeners. He said he could not advocate the use of deficit financing in paying his salary and the salaries of the members of the legislature "and all this horde of government pie-eaters" and then cut it

off "when it comes to paying the old folks, who are starving and sick, and when it comes to paying the helpless children, the indigent blind, and the teachers . . . ."

Throughout the speech O'Daniel represented himself to the people as the champion of the poor and needy and his bill as the best possible solution to the social security problem. In the conclusion he gave the listeners to understand that they represented the only remaining hope for the ultimate passage of the bill.

O'Daniel's motive appeals to pride and duty made a definite contribution to his persuasive efforts. In the introduction he told the people "you are a part of this Texas state government." In his third point he told them they not only had a right to ask their representatives to change their vote but it was their duty to ask them to do so. He told them the session was more than half over and it was "high time" for them to look into the matter. In the conclusion O'Daniel concentrated his persuasive efforts in an attempt to move the people to contact their representative. He said:

It is my honest opinion that if you folks back home want this problem settled you had better get in touch with your Representatives and discuss the problem with them, and try to help them work out their plans in accordance with your ideas.

O'Daniel's tacit assumption that the people shared his confidence in House Bill Number 322 was in itself an effective tactic in that it was a subtle allusion to the pact between the governor and the people, and their unspoken but very real agreement to stand together. O'Daniel sought to add impetus to their activity when he admitted that things looked "very serious" to him. He said: "Let me urge you to get busy and find out what is going on . . . ."

#### BROADCAST OF MARCH 30, 1941

##### Antecedent action

The Morris bill continued to hold the center of legislative interest. Its sponsors had presented it as a measure affording temporary relief during the war period and admitted that it would halt the deficit in the treasury but would not reduce it to any measurable extent.

Early in the month O'Daniel had asked various members of the House to call on him at his office for the purpose of discussing pension legislation. He had tried in these personal talks to persuade the members to support his plan, under which the entire revenue of the General Fund would go to the payment of pensions. One observer, commenting on the mollifying implications of the personal visits as contrasted to the abusive tactics of the governor's speeches,

said O'Daniel approached the legislators "with a lollipop in one hand and a club in the other."<sup>42</sup>

#### Immediate occasion

The governor's supporters in the House tried repeatedly during the last week in March to get House Bill Number 322 recalled. All their efforts proved unavailing.<sup>43</sup>

#### Format

The broadcast of March 30, 1941 consisted of a full-time political speech.

#### SPEECH OF MARCH 30, 1941

In the speech O'Daniel continued to solicit the help of the audience in securing the recall of his bill. He stated his theme in the introduction when he said:

There is only one thing that I believe can save this Social Security program at this session, and that is for you folks back home to talk to your Representatives who did not vote for the bill and get them to vote for bringing it up again.

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<sup>42</sup>Dallas Morning News, March 8, 1941.

<sup>43</sup>House Journal, op. cit.

By this time O'Daniel seemed to feel that the current legislative session would end either in a stalemate or with passage of the Morris bill. He wished in either event to be sure that his ethos remained intact.

The governor did not adhere to any conventional speech pattern in his address of March 30. Instead he read eight letters from his radio fans, interspersing the readings with running comment on themes suggested by the letters. While O'Daniel used no points, he apparently had chosen the letters for the purpose of establishing his general implied contentions that he was a messenger of truth, that the legislators were the enemy, and that only the people had the answer to the state's number one problem.

O'Daniel's long introduction was primarily in the interest of ethos. He showed his good will for the audience and sought to disturb the legislators when he thanked his listeners for their many messages expressing approval of the information he broadcast. He said he would be glad to send the official voting record to any of his audience who would write and request it. He seemed to be preparing the listeners for possible failure of the social security program in the current session. He expressed discouragement over the rejection of his bill and said he feared the

state's Number One Problem was going to be "scuttled" again just as it had been two years before. To annoy the legislators, whom he had consistently tried to coerce into supporting legislation which he favored, the governor now said he did not consider it was his business to tell any representative how to vote, nor to criticize any of them for the way they voted. He said: "But you folks who elected them have that right." He repeated his statement that he would be glad to send out copies of the official voting record. He then restated his theme:

I have done everything within my power to get this Number One Problem settled but it is my honest opinion that this whole Social Security Problem is going to be scuttled again this year, just as it was scuttled two years ago, unless you folks back home get your Representatives to change their ideas.

The letters which O'Daniel read had evidently been selected for their ethical and emotional implications. One from the editor of a small independent newspaper said in part:

I trust the people of Texas will charge this failure to those responsible . . . . My heart is with you in your noble efforts to have these laws properly financed . . . . May God be with you . . . . Keep up the good work . . . . The people are listening and learning . . . .



Another letter was from a seventy-two year old widow who said she was still self-supporting and hoped the Lord would call her home before she had to rely on state assistance. But, she said, she was in favor of all the governor's plans. She wrote: "I believe you are trying to do what is best for the citizens of our BEAUTIFUL TEXAS, and I pray there will be a plan worked out in time to be voted on . . . ." Later on in her letter she said: "I have decided you are a real Christian -- too good to be in politics, but of course we need our Government to be run by honest Christian men, but I fear it hasn't been run by God-fearing men before you got there."

A letter from a young man in Huntsville read: "I have just finished writing our Representative. I see he didn't vote for House Bill 322 and my friends and I would like to know why." The young man went on to say:

Mr. O'Daniel, I'm a young man in my early twenties, but no person in this state wants to see the social security obligations paid more than I do. If I have to pay a few more taxes to help do it, then bring on the taxes. We appreciate your efforts for the good of the common people very much. We are still with you just like we were last summer when you were running for reelection.

An elderly lady from Galveston also indicated that she had written her representatives to urge support of

O'Daniel's bill. She wrote:

Just a few lines to tell you I am with you in your fight for the Social Security appropriation bill, just as I have been with you from the day you took office as our Governor. I want you to know you have sympathy in your struggle for what we know is right. I noticed the absence of names of Galveston's representatives so I have today written both of them a letter and asked why. I am ashamed of them. May God bless and be with you.

One writer enclosed copy of his letter to his representative. The copy read:

Dear Representative: You are reminded the citizens of ----- County sent you down to the Legislature to carry out their highest aims to their deepest interest to this part of the State. We notice you sit there like a cold stone. When you return home even those that supported you will evade you and leave you alone. Like your friend and predecessor (one of the 56'ers) you soon will go to parts unknown. Why do you even hesitate to vote for Social Security? Please answer that question.

A retired army officer wrote to say: "If there is anything I can do to assist in the great work you so bravely are fighting for, all you have to do is command. I love a good fight when it is in the interest of humanity."

A sixty-five year old school teacher wrote that he had spent forty-five years in the class room. For four years he had been putting 5% of his salary into the Teacher's Retirement Fund and said "I think that is long enough to wait

for the state to do its part in perfecting the Teacher Retirement Plan." The teacher was warm in his praise of O'Daniel. He wrote:

The people of this section of Texas appreciate your efforts to let us know what the legislature is doing. We hope you may keep turning the light on the legislature. The Members of the Legislature who are trying to do the will of the people will appreciate your efforts, but the members who are not doing what the people desire will criticize you. But they cannot hurt you for the people have faith in you and believe that you are working for the interest of those who need help.

The last letter which O'Daniel read was from a Mrs. Wortman of Garrett. Mrs. Wortman wrote:

Our dear Governor: As we listened to your speech yesterday morning before going to church as we do every Sunday morning, we understand that some of our good men we have over there don't seem to want to pay us old folks anything but I'll tell you one thing -- they wouldn't stand back one minute to send our boys to fight their battles. After the old people have worked and raised those boys, give all that they could give and all they had to raise them and then after that's all done and the old people get broke down and not able to work and they can starve for all they care just so they get what they want. What if they had to live on \$14.60 per month . . . . My husband and I are old people and we didn't do anything but raise a family of eight children . . . . and three of them went and fought in the other war and you see that is the thanks we get . . . . I do thank you for caring for us old people. I know you are the best Governor we ever did have or ever will have. I am real proud of you. I surely hope you will always be our Governor.

In his comments O'Daniel sought to stir the people to anger against the legislators. The members, he said, were motivated by self-interest and they were completely lacking in a sense of justice or fairness; they had passed appropriation bills to pay their own salaries but had refused to pass an appropriation bill to provide money for the pension payments. The social security services, the governor said, represented the will of the people as expressed in solemn mandate at the polls. The legislators, he declared, had refused to respect the will of the people. Even after passing a tax bill which assured sufficient revenue for paying the appropriation they had still refused to pass House Bill Number 322. They had, O'Daniel said, let the old folks down.

Closely related to the technique by which he sought to stir the people to anger against the legislators was the technique by which O'Daniel sought to coerce the members themselves into recalling his bill for a further vote. At no time did he address his remarks to the members. He did, however, use the letters as impressive testimony to the high esteem in which he was held by the public, and as a potent motive appeal to the security of the members who opposed him. He said the letters indicated that the people

considered the legislature's failure to pass his appropriation bill "a colossal and flagrant abuse of power." Another device which O'Daniel used to secure legislative support was his repeated offers to supply the listeners with copies of the voting record and the stress which he placed upon the importance of the people in the governmental process. In these tactics he implied that the people had a way to learn who was friend and who was foe and, fortified with such knowledge, would take retaliatory action at the polls against all those who failed to support House Bill Number 322.

Not all of the appeals slanted toward the legislators were for the purpose of frightening the members. In motive appeals to duty and state pride O'Daniel sought to shame the members into constructive action by implying that the legislators were dishonoring the state when they, as the state's representatives, failed to make good on its recorded debts. He said:

It seems to me that in this old world of greed and graft and corruption which has torn it asunder to such an extent that Nations are falling that it is high time that the government of this great state of Texas would at least be honorable enough to pay its honest debts and obligations.

In repeated motive appeals to duty, O'Daniel made it plain to the people that the final outcome of the social security problem was between them and the legislators. He said: "I have done everything within my power," "I have done my best," "I can do no more." To a certain extent, he washed his hands of the matter and put the burden of responsibility on the listeners when he said:

I have no suggestions to make. I believe that in a Democracy the people should work out their own plans. I am simply reporting to you folks what is going on. It is up to you to decide what to do. This is YOUR state.

To enhance his own ethos O'Daniel placed himself in a virtuous position opposed to the unvirtuous position of his opponents. He said he had not originated the social security obligations but had found them on the books of the state when he came to office. But, he said, "the sovereign voters of Texas voted those amendments into the Constitution, and whatever the sovereign voters of Texas do is RIGHT as far as I am concerned." He said he believed in democracy and that what he was fighting for was the principle of paying honest debts. He said: "I believe in honesty . . . . and the old-fashioned way I was brought up it is dishonest to not pay honest debts, and unless we uphold honesty in this world, we stand on the brink of ruin."

Stylistic devices played an important part in implementing O'Daniel's contentions for acceptance. Not only did restatement add impressiveness to his style but, in the absence of argumentative units, it provided the governor with a valuable means of unifying his loose and formless development. Four times he stated that the outcome of the legislative session depended on the efforts of the audience. He also referred four times to the failure of the House to act favorably on House Bill Number 322. Twice he stated that the state had reneged on the Teacher Retirement plan. He three times spoke of the legislature's failure to carry out the solemn mandate of the people. He four times indicated that he had done all that he could.

O'Daniel used rhetorical question to lead thought and to emphasize and dramatize points. In his comments that followed the reading of the letter from the school teacher he concluded by asking three rhetorical questions:

In this land of abundance and untold wealth, is it right to treat our citizens like this? How long do you think a great free people like we have here in Texas are going to put up with this kind of deceit and deception? How can you expect these teachers of your children to teach these children to have much respect for a Government that is that unfair?

Short sentences, used for emphasis and dramatic effect, made a definite contribution to the impressiveness of O'Daniel's style and helped to make his contentions convincing. He said:

Here's a hot one.  
 I believe in Democracy . . . .  
 This is YOUR state.  
 I cannot do it.  
 I have done all I can.  
 I can do no more.

In his comments on the final letter O'Daniel used parallel structure, restatement, antithesis, and climax.

In a passage that shows marked rhythm, he said:

They have lived and slaved for the State they love . . . .  
 They have given their sons in battle . . . .  
 They believe in Democracy . . . .  
 They believe in our constitution . . . .  
 The Constitution provides for taking care of them . . . .  
 The laws passed by previous legislatures provide for  
                                   taking care of them . . . .  
 Everything is provided except that when it comes to making the appropriation enough members of the House of Representatives voted against the appropriation bill to kill it.

In the conclusion O'Daniel in emotion charged and image-evoking words summarized the indignities and injustices suffered by potential pensioners because of the state's failure to pay the social security obligations. He said:



This old couple -- are to lie down and die with lost faith in their own native state because a majority of the members of the House of Representatives voted against making the appropriation to pay the State's honest debts.

School teachers who are supposed to teach our little boys and girls to be honest and to love their country, come to the end of their way with their own state's repudiated debt staring them in the face.

Helpless children who cannot come to Austin to plead their own case must have their little bodies dwarfed because the Members of the House of Representatives will not make the appropriation for them as provided by the Constitution.

The indigent and helpless people who cannot see the beauty of God's great paradise, BEAUTIFUL TEXAS, must form their opinion of its beauty by knowing that this state does not pay its honest obligations.

In his final words O'Daniel again told the audience that he could do nothing more about the pension problem. He told them he hoped they would continue to write their representatives. He said to send them petitions or do anything else they could "to get them to take care of these honest state obligations while they are yet in session." He said: "Now is the time to get our house in order. I cannot do it. It is up to you and your Legislators."

BROADCAST OF APRIL 6, 1941

Antecedent action

Following O'Daniel's speech of March 30 his supporters

in the House made further efforts to get House Bill Number 322 recalled. They were not successful.<sup>41</sup>

#### Immediate occasion

As O'Daniel prepared the script for his regular Sunday morning address House Bill Number 322 had not been recalled. Neither had the Morris omnibus bill been passed by the Senate. Legislative procedure seemed to follow the pattern of the 1939 session, and the prospects for a satisfactory solution to the social security problem appeared dim.

#### Format

The broadcast of April 6, 1941 consisted of a full-time political speech.

#### SPEECH OF APRIL 6, 1941

Once again O'Daniel sought to enlist the aid of the people in securing the recall of his bill. About midway of the speech of April 6, 1941 he stated his theme: "My purpose is to let you folks back home know what has happened, so you can talk to your Representatives who voted against the bill and try to get them to change their minds . . . ."

To accomplish his purpose O'Daniel used four topical points.

In the introduction O'Daniel showed his good will for the people and also sought to frighten the legislators by thanking his listeners for the "thousands" of letters that continued to pour in from all over the state. He said he understood the representatives had been getting letters, too. He also said the letters sent by the people to the House members were doing good because some of the representatives had told him they were beginning to see matters "in a different light." O'Daniel said, however, that he didn't want to arouse any false hopes in the minds of his hearers because it was going to be difficult to get enough members to vote for recall of the bill. He said: "Of course it is possible to get a two-thirds vote, but in my opinion it is very doubtful that this will happen." He seemed to be telling the people that they must fight on in their efforts to get enough votes to assure passage of House Bill Number 322 even though the prospects of success were not good.

In the introduction O'Daniel indicated that he was going to present his material in a refutative order. He said: "Today I want to give you some of the reasons, or excuses, or alibis, by whichever name you prefer to call

them, that the members who voted against the bill are now giving for voting against it."

In the first point O'Daniel attempted to make himself credible to his listeners by means of a short narrative. In it he sought to weaken the contention of his opponents that passage of O'Daniel's bill should be deferred until the Senate had passed the Morris tax bill. He said that a member of the House had dropped by his office for a friendly visit. He said the member had felt he shouldn't vote for O'Daniel's big appropriation bill until he had the assurance, in Senate passage of the Morris omnibus tax bill, that there would be money in the General Fund to take care of the large sum of money called for in House Bill Number 322. O'Daniel said he had assured the member that those who elected him had elected him to the House and not the Senate; that he had no voice or influence on what the Senate did regarding bills; that, not being a prophet, he could not possibly know what the Senate would do about a bill: that he was a House member and could only perform for the state government as a House member; and that the folks who elected him did not expect anything more of him than that he "confine his actions to that of a House member and keep his eye on the ball." He concluded the story

and the point by stating:

This Member then good-naturedly admitted that he had been looking at the matter in the wrong light. He could see . . . . that if he did his duty in the House of Representatives, he could not be held responsible for what the members of the Senate did.

Since the activities of the two Houses were inter-related and interdependent, O'Daniel's argument was based on a deceptive premise. He rendered it credible by making himself the hero who, by a demonstration of seeming perspicacity, was able to convert a doubting representative to the acceptance of his contention. The implication was that if the representative had believed him, the people should believe him also.

O'Daniel said another reason some of the members were giving for not passing his bill was that doing so would deprive the state of matching federal funds for making the pension payments.

To make clear the opposition's contention O'Daniel read a letter written by one of the representatives to a member of O'Daniel's radio audience. The letter read:

I am basing my argument almost solely upon two telegrams and what these telegrams mean to the people of Texas who are recipients of old age assistance. You will notice that the first telegram is from the chairman of the Appropriations Committee to Mr. Paul V.

McNutt, the Federal Administrator of the Social Security Board. As you know the Federal Government pays one half of our Social Security grants if we comply with their regulations. As Mr. Powell stated in his reply telegram, in order for the Federal Government to grant us this old age assistance, we MUST HAVE THE MONEY AT PAR VALUE AND WITHOUT DISCOUNTS. If we had passed House Bill No. 322 this deficit financing plan would have made it compulsory, in order to cash warrants, a discount from 10 to 20%. With this amount of discount, let's see what it would have meant to the old folks. Let's assume that an old age recipient is receiving \$18 per month. The Federal Government would have not offered their one half which is \$9, and in order to cash the warrant the recipient would have had to discount his warrant at least 10%. This would mean that you pensioners would receive \$8.10 instead of \$18. You can see by this it would be suicide for the "old folks" if we passed this measure before we raised a tax revenue with which to pay it.

O'Daniel read the two telegrams under question and granted that their stipulations were as indicated in the letter. He said, however, that the telegram to McNutt had indicated that his bill called for an appropriation from the General Fund and that the McNutt reply was based on this condition. O'Daniel contended that his bill did not call for an appropriation from the General Fund. He read from his bill to establish the fact that in his plan he proposed to draw the pension payments from a new fund to be known as The Social Security Fund, which would have no deficit. Under such a plan, he concluded, there would be no need to discount the warrants; they would be paid

at par value, and the matching federal payments would not be affected.

To further render ineffective the contention of his opponents O'Daniel produced and read a letter from the director of the State Welfare Board which read: "The methods of providing cash funds as set out in this bill would be satisfactory to the Social Security Board because it makes possible drawing of State Warrants against a cash fund, and thus the warrants are payable at par."

Having established conclusively by means of impressive testimony that the House had indeed misrepresented the terms of his bill, O'Daniel in his next sub-point used a series of causal arguments to further weaken the representatives' position with the people. He was careful while doing so to strengthen his own ethos. He said he was of the opinion that the defeat of House Bill Number 322 was "one of the most colossal mistakes that has been made at this session . . . . because it deals with such a vital problem: the very lives of many of our citizens are at stake." He said of course he could have kept quiet about it, as everybody else did, but he was not interested in politics; he was only interested in getting the job done that he believed the people at home wanted done. For this reason, he declared, he had got on the air as he had

promised he would do and had told them of the injustice that had been done. He said he would not pass judgment on House Members who had put out false information about his bill, and that it was "up to you folks who elected these Members to pass your own judgment." He assured the people that he was not broadcasting his present report with any desire to be mean or critical. He told them: "I have certainly proven my desire to be friendly . . . . I have no personal grievances against them." On the other hand, he said, he wanted to be helpful to them. He claimed again that his purpose in broadcasting the news which he had just given the people was not to criticize anybody: "My purpose is to let you folks back home know what has happened, so you can talk to your Representatives who voted against the bill, and try to get them to change their minds, and yet save the bill while there is time."

To enhance his own ethos and to damage that of the legislators O'Daniel at one point said: "How in the wide world any straight-thinking person could construe this telegram to say what some have reported it to have said is beyond me." He also said: "It is difficult for me to understand why any Member of this House of Representatives would write such information to his constituents." To



emphasize his own intelligence and imply the stupidity of the legislators O'Daniel used a number of leading statements: "Let me now give you positive proof that the information contained in that letter is wrong"; "First I want to read . . . ."; "Now, folks, please note . . . ." "Now, here is the copy of the answer to that telegram . . . ."; "All right, let's see . . . ."; "Here it is, Section 2"; "you can easily see"; "Now everybody knows"; "In addition to this proof which I have already given you"; "let me point out"; "now listen to that"; "This means that"; "To settle all argument"; "Then, if there yet remains any doubt in anybody's mind".

In his third point O'Daniel said: "Now let me discuss another one of the reasons that some of these members give for voting against House Bill No. 322: They say there are other ways of getting the Social Security problem settled, and they prefer to do it by some other method."

O'Daniel introduced the point with a series of causal inferences, strengthened by emotional and ethical implications. He had no significant arguments to advance and was not able to make anything more of the sub-point than a discussion of his personal speculative opinions. He reasoned that there were other methods of settling the

problem, and he sincerely hoped that enough of the members could agree on some other method that they considered better "and really get the job done." He reasoned that to his knowledge none of them had yet advocated a method that was more positive and practical than that contained in his bill. He finally reasoned:

Suppose they voted against House Bill No. 322 because they had a better method in mind, and then later, after it was too late to put House Bill No. 322 into effect, they find that they cannot put their own method into effect. I should think that would make them feel pretty bad, if they honestly and truly want to get this Social Security problem settled at this time.

In his second sub-point O'Daniel said he had heard this kind of argument two years ago: "The gang that turned everything down that was proposed kept saying they had a better plan, and just wait and see what they were going to do. But after they turned all plans down, then they did not put their own better plans into effect, and the session ended with nothing done." Reasoning from analogy, O'Daniel concluded: "That is what I fear will be done this year." He was expressing the fears of the people themselves and was therefore certain of acceptance.

In his third sub-point the governor said he could not understand why any member who honestly wanted to pay

the social security obligations would have voted against his bill. He summarized its virtues: the controversial subject of taxes was not involved in it; it was a clear-cut issue; The House had already passed a tax bill in sufficient amount to take care of the appropriation; the bill was not concerned with the problem of monthly pension payments. Ignoring the fact that one of his examples represented a half-truth the governor reasoned inductively from specific instance to conclude: "A vote for HB 322 meant positively that the old-age pensions and other social security obligations would be paid without any question whatever. A vote against HB 322 meant leaving the whole problem in doubt . . . ." He emphasized and dramatized his argument by the use of antithesis.

In his final point O'Daniel made the following point statement: "There is another reason or excuse that some of these House Members give for voting against HB 322. They say they are against deficit spending." Arguing causally, O'Daniel reasoned: "Just how they can figure that it is deficit spending to first pass a tax bill for \$31,000,000 and then after that to pass an appropriation for \$26,830,000 is beyond me." To assure agreement O'Daniel sought to lead the thought of the people through a series of rhetorical questions:

They surely cannot take that position without indicating that they lack confidence in their own tax bill which they passed? Surely they do not claim that the tax bill they passed was not genuine? Surely they would not want you to believe that they passed a good-for-nothing tax bill?

O'Daniel was trying to create the illusion that the House, in passing the Morris bill, had assured tax revenue to take care of O'Daniel's appropriation. For the purpose of minimizing its significance he next brought up the fact that the Senate had not yet passed the Morris bill. He said: "They might want to lead you to believe that they lack confidence in the Senate passing the Omnibus tax bill which they passed and sent to the Senate." Again he used a rhetorical question to lead the thought of the audience to the desired conclusion: "Why should they doubt that the Senate would shirk its responsibility?"

In his first point the governor had undertaken to convince his listeners that the House and Senate each functioned as a separate unit of the governmental law-making system, and that possible future action of the Senate should not affect present decision of the House.

In his final sub-point the governor again took up the same contention. He said:

Technically speaking, it is the duty and responsibility of the Senate to choose its own action and its own course. It is the duty and responsibility of the House of Representatives to do as it considers best, without regard to the future actions in the Senate on the same subject.

O'Daniel was obviously seeking to further damage his opponents' ethos with the people. He said:

If the House of Representatives passed the tax bill for \$31,000,000, and if it had passed the HB 322, it would have done its duty as far as settling the Social Security problem is concerned. Then if the Senate had also passed both bills and the Governor had signed the bill, the problem would have been settled.

In other words, the governor implied, by its failure to pass House Bill Number 322 the House had blocked the process which could have led to the satisfactory termination of the social security problem. He had placed the House in the position of being the enemy, providing of course that the listeners agreed with him. To try to assure acceptance O'Daniel resorted to fantasy in the form of a hypothetical illustration. Suppose, he said, that the House passed House Bill Number 322 and then the Senate did not pass any tax bill at all but did pass O'Daniel's bill. He said: "That would leave the appropriation bill passed by both the House and the Senate with no tax bill passed." In that case, he said, it would not be deficit financing in paying

the pensions but "the appropriations made by passing other appropriation bills to pay my salary . . . . and all other salaries and expenses paid out of the General Fund would be deficit financing."

At this point O'Daniel shifted tense and in so doing he brought the situation which he described out of the realm of possibility into that of seeming reality. He said:

In other words, ladies and gentlemen, what HB 322 really does is to make preferred creditors out of the old folks, the helpless children, the indigent blind, and the teachers and puts them on a cash basis and puts the rest of us government officials and employees on the deferred list, to be paid with vouchers out of a deficit fund, which are subject to discount. We have been preferred creditors all the time, and the old folks and helpless children and indigent blind and teachers have taken what was left, if anything. HB 322 just turns the government pie-counter around end for end and puts the old folks, helpless children, indigent blind, and retired teachers at the head of the table where the white chicken meat is served, and leaves the rest of us hungry government officials and employees down at the foot of the table where the chicken necks and bony backs are, if any.

Through a bit of nonsense O'Daniel emphasized his own good will for the people and at the same time probably rendered his point contention acceptable. While the illustration did not prove anything logically, it was a dramatic and effective persuasive device. It brought House

Bill Number 322 within the perspective of the people in terms of personal experience. It gave them a sense of status. It put them at the head of the table with the taste of white meat in their mouths. Above all it gave them the assurance that this was a situation which was pleasing to their good friend, the governor and speaker, W. Lee O'Daniel.

O'Daniel's conclusion to the point was certainly not calculated to improve relations between the legislators and the people. It was: "That may be one reason why some of these House Members voted against HB 322, but they have not yet admitted it."

The governor brought the speech to an end by again urging his listeners to flood their representatives with letters and petitions "so they will know what you want them to do regarding this matter."

#### BROADCAST OF APRIL 20, 1941

##### Antecedent action

The action of the House in killing O'Daniel's bill was sustained by the Senate.<sup>44</sup> With House Bill Number 322 out of the way the Senate then began consideration of the Morris omnibus tax bill.

Immediate occasion

On April 9 an event occurred which was to have a definite bearing on the solution of the social security problem. On that date United States Senator Morris Sheppard died. Because of the grave international situation all Texans were eager that a man capable of living up to the political tradition of Sheppard and Connally be appointed to fill out the unexpired term. The Dallas Morning News felt that John Nance Garner was the man for the job.<sup>45</sup>

O'Daniel as governor was empowered by the Constitution of the United States to call an election to fill the vacancy.<sup>46</sup> Under Texas election laws, the special election had to be held not less than sixty and no more than ninety days after the vacancy occurred. The governor, moreover, was required to set the date of the election within ten days and "to make temporary appointment of a suitable and qualified person to represent the state in the United States

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<sup>44</sup>Senate Journal, op. cit., p. 761.

<sup>45</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 12, 1941.

<sup>46</sup>Constitution of the United States, Amendment XVII.



Senate, until the election and qualification of a Senator can be made."<sup>47</sup>

On April 10, the day following Senator Sheppard's death, the Austin American declared that O'Daniel would like very much to be the new senator from Texas.<sup>48</sup> On that same day, Representative Mark Halsey of Lubbock introduced a resolution in the House, petitioning O'Daniel to resign his office to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate.<sup>49</sup> The Houston Post, reporting on the fact that the resolution was adopted with a rising vote, said that O'Daniel's friends in the legislature were glad for him to have this new political opportunity, while his foes were glad of the chance to get him out of the state and out of Texas politics.<sup>50</sup> The Dallas Morning News interpreted the resolution as a legislative tradeout and a scheme "to be rid of O'Daniel at any cost."<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Vernons Texas Statutues, (Centennial Edition, 1936)

<sup>48</sup>Austin American, April 10, 1941.

<sup>49</sup>House Journal, op. cit., p. 1858.

<sup>50</sup>Houston Press, April 11, 1941.

<sup>51</sup>Dallas Morning News, April 12, 1941.

## Format

Theme "Home Sweet Home" in background	Band
Announcement	
Greeting	O'Daniel
Speech Proper	
San Jacinto Day Episode	
Song: "Will you Come to the Bower"	Band
Comments	O'Daniel
Song: "Faith of our Fathers"	Band
Poem: "Texas Heritage" by Judd	
Mortimer Lewis	O'Daniel
Comments	

## SPEECH OF APRIL 20, 1941

The speech of April 20, 1941 was informative in nature and its purpose was to alert the radio audience to the possibility that O'Daniel might be a candidate for the senatorial post left vacant by the death of Morris Sheppard. It consisted of three topical points.

To introduce the speech O'Daniel said: "Friends, tomorrow is San Jacinto Day." He reminded the audience that this was a day set aside to commemorate the victorious battle of 105 years before, a battle that resulted in Texas independence from Mexico. He said that world conditions should make everyone feel a keener appreciation and gratitude for liberty and other blessings, and cause people to be more determined than ever before to resist all

attempts to curtail liberties or have democracy taken from them. "It is time," he said, "for all of us to give serious thought to our every action."

O'Daniel then told his audience that "a momentous question has been presented for me to decide" and he said he wanted to solicit the advice and suggestions and prayers of all his radio friends in helping him to come to a decision. He explained that he had received from the Texas House of Representatives a resolution "with reference to my serving the unexpired term of our late beloved United States Senator Morris Sheppard." He said that in order to acquaint his listeners with the problem which confronted him he wanted to read the resolution.

The following are excerpts from the resolution:

Whereas, in these perilous times, Texas, as the nation's greatest Democratic state, desperately needs as its junior senator in the United States Senate a seasoned and fearless statesman, who can command national respect and attention, and

Whereas Governor O'Daniel is the best beloved and most popular governor this state has known since the immortal James Stephen Hogg; and by reason of his statesmanship, ability, courage, and mastery of oratory and debate has become a national figure; now

Therefore, be it resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Forty-Seventh Legislature hereby go on record as respectfully requesting that Governor W. Lee O'Daniel resign office as governor and accept

appointment to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of the Honorable Morris Sheppard, and that Governor O'Daniel announce as a candidate for the elective term ending in January 1943; thereby making his service available to Texas and America in his hour of national peril from within and without . . . .

Having read the resolution O'Daniel concluded his first point by saying: "After this resolution was passed I began to give consideration to the desire of the Representatives."

In his second point statement O'Daniel declared: "I do not intend to sacrifice the confidence you have shown in me by quitting this job in the middle of the stream, unfinished, and hie off to greener pastures for more honors." O'Daniel said it was one of the greatest honors in the nation to be a United States Senator. It was an honor that any man would give anything to attain and, he said, it had been offered to him "on a silver platter." He pointed out that he could have this honor simply by resigning his present office with the understanding that the lieutenant governor upon becoming governor would appoint O'Daniel to the office of United States Senator. He said it had even been pointed out to him that if he so desired it was possible for the present legislature to amend the law immediately so that his appointment would continue him in the United States

Senate until the general election of 1942. But, he said, while he appreciated the honor bestowed upon him by the legislature he appreciated even more the honor bestowed upon him by the people of Texas who had twice elected him to his present position and had done so without a runoff in either campaign. That, he said, was an honor few men attained and it was an honor that he intended to hold sacred. He would not, therefore, consider the senatorial post unless the legislature saw fit to help him complete his unfinished program. He said: "I do not intend to desert the ship which you have entrusted to me."

In his third point the governor revealed the conditions upon which his acceptance of the legislature's suggestion depended. He read the people his reply to the legislative resolution. In it, O'Daniel first indicated that he would not accept a legislative appointment. He said:

If I am to serve Texas and this Nation as United States Senator, it will not be by a process of appointment in which I would play such an obviously decisive role, but on the contrary it will be only in response to a popular demand of the citizens of Texas, and determined by the sovereign voters at the polls . . . .

O'Daniel said that the high honor of serving as

United States Senator from Texas was "an alluring and dazzling inducement." But, he said, the citizens of Texas had reposed a confidence in him that was "unparalleled in the history of the state" and he did not propose to shatter that confidence by deserting the task for which they had elected him. He said: "I intend to merit that confidence by completing the job I started, or continuing my determined attempt to complete it, as long as the good people of this state desire that I do so."

O'Daniel then enumerated five points of a program. These he said he considered his major objectives. He could not consider making a change unless and until these major objectives were achieved. He said to the legislature: "Your action on these five bills will enable me to decide whether I should comply with your expressed desire and offer myself as a candidate for the office of United States Senator."

The first point in O'Daniel's list of major objectives was the passage of a tax bill to assure sufficient revenue to take care of the social security obligations. In referring to the social security situation O'Daniel said:

Our Number One Problem is still unsolved. I trust you will get together on the best method, and finish this job promptly and thus receive the acclaim of the citizens of this State who have been so bitterly disappointed . . . .

In his conclusion to the speech proper O'Daniel again expressed his appreciation of the legislative resolution. He also made it plain that he would or would not resign his office, depending on whether or not the legislature passed the bills which he had enumerated, the first and most important being a bill to assure payment of the social security obligations. He said:

The action of the Legislature on these five important bills will enable me to determine whether I will offer myself as a candidate for United States Senator and if I do offer myself as a candidate, it will then be decided by the vote of the citizens of Texas, whether they want me to serve as Governor or as United States Senator. If I am to serve you further, it is my burning desire to serve where you folks think I will do the most good. That is my idea of what Public Service ought to be, and my idea of real Democracy.

Although O'Daniel on the date of the speech was supposed to be undecided about running for the office of United States Senator, his speech gave evidence of being an announcement that his hat was in the ring. He was filled with good will for everyone: for Morris Sheppard whom he characterized as "our beloved Senator"; for the legislators, whom he thanked profusely for the honor which they had bestowed upon him; and for the people who, he said several times, had reposed unparalleled confidence in him.

Not only was he filled with good will for others, but he was willed with praise of himself. He called attention to the fact that he had been twice elected governor without the necessity of a run-off, an honor, he said, which few men achieved. He represented himself as being too responsible to run off to Washington until he had fulfilled his promise to his constituents: "No, indeed, I just wasn't brought up that way! I was taught to give honest and conscientious effort to one job at a time, and that is exactly what I have done and am still doing as Governor of Texas." Nothing, he declared, could induce him to quit his present job until he had done the work the people elected him to do. He said:

I would not feel that I was keeping faith with the people who elected me if I did not stay on the job as long as necessary and exert every possible influence to accomplish in a reasonable way these major objectives.

In spite of his protestations of appreciation for the honor which the legislators had bestowed upon him, O'Daniel was clearly aware that their proposal was an attempt on the part of the law-makers to be rid of him. He was canny enough to use it to his advantage in exerting one last thrust of pressure to achieve passage of certain bills,



particularly a bill to finance the social security program. He undoubtedly wished to make the legislators uncomfortable when he implied that he would stay on his present job until he had finished the task for which he had been elected. The implication in his tactics was that if the legislature wished to kick him up the political ladder they would have to make it worth his while by passing the bills which would clear his record with the people.

With his eye on an election in June what O'Daniel wanted from his listeners was support in the form of votes. What he was really seeking was a mandate from the people to serve as proof to anyone who might be interested that the citizens of Texas were satisfied with him and were pleased to aid him in his endeavors to move up higher, to what he called "greener pastures." Apparently his ethos would not permit him to accept an appointment when he knew the members were motivated in their proposal by a profound and urgent desire to get him out of the governor's chair. He seemed to want to establish his right to the new office at the polls, as evidence of the esteem in which his constituents held him. He said:

If they elect me to this high office, I will consider that I have successfully performed the task they expected me to perform, and that they have also doubly rewarded me by adding to the already great honor of being Governor of Texas the additional honor of being United States Senator, which new position I shall endeavor to fill with honor to my State and Nation.

O'Daniel followed his speech proper with a brief tribute to the heroes of San Jacinto. As a transition between the two segments he said:

I believe that if more people who crave public service would submerge their selfish personal ambitions for honor and glory and personal gain and adopt the old-fashioned philosophy of our forefathers of unselfish service to their country that we would not be in the mess our governments are in at the present time. This is Americanism, true Americanism. And now in memory of Sam Houston and the other brave heroes who won the battle of Independence for Texas 105 years ago, tomorrow, I am going to ask the boys to sing the same song that those soldiers are reported to have sung just before the battle.

When the band members had sung "Will You Come to the Bower", O'Daniel returned to the San Jacinto theme. He described the huge monument erected on the scene of the battle, not far from Houston, and urged Texas school children to visit it. He spoke of it as a "hallowed spot" and said that on the following day he would deliver an address there at about three o'clock in the afternoon. He urged his listeners to visit the monument on the next day and reminded

them again of the hour of his speech. He said: "I believe it does us good to visit these historic spots where our forefathers accomplished such great feats, and there re-dedicate our lives and actions to the cause for which they fought and died."

Having identified himself with Texas' revered heroes, O'Daniel asked the band to play and sing "Faith of our Fathers". At the conclusion of the musical number, to emphasize the theme of state patriotism, he read Judd Mortimer Lewis's poem "Texas Heritage". He then brought the program to an end by saying: "We bring to a close another tribute to the memory of those brave forefathers to whom we all owe a great debt of gratitude. May we all cling to the fundamentals of life as steadfastly as they did." He then added: "I hope to see many of you at San Jacinto Park tomorrow afternoon about 3 o'clock."

O'Daniel was interested in having a large crowd present for his San Jacinto Day address because he planned on this occasion to announce his appointment of an interim senator to serve until the June elections. His choice as it turned out was an 87 year old man, General Andrew Jackson Houston, only surviving son of the hero of San Jacinto, General Sam Houston. His choice brought a storm of protest since General Houston was considered too old

and ill to serve. Senator Hill said of O'Daniel's appointment: "There was never a time when men's qualifications needed closer scrutiny than now, when our government and our whole order of living is at stake. Our destiny hangs by a thread . . . . We should select our strongest and best men for high and responsible places; the conditions of the times demand it."<sup>49</sup> Many people felt that O'Daniel had picked a man who would offer him no competition in the forthcoming senatorial race. As it turned out Senator Houston occupied his seat in the Senate chamber only three times. Ill when he went to Washington, he died at Johns Hopkins Hospital on June 26.<sup>50</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Of the six speeches examined in Chapter VI five purport to be Governor O'Daniel's attempts to secure support for his House Bill Number 322. The bill was an appropriation measure which called for the appropriation of Twenty Six Millior Dollars out of a Treasury which was already operating under the burden of a Thirty Million Dollar deficit.

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<sup>49</sup>Austin American, April 23, 1941.

<sup>50</sup>Wichita Falls Times, June 27, 1941.

The legislators felt that they could not in good conscience support such a measure. It was the opinion of the Dallas Morning News and also of O'Daniel's personal friend, Representative Hartzog of Port Lavaca, that the bill and the speeches soliciting its support were in the nature of a ruse. Both the paper and the friend felt that what O'Daniel really wanted was his own transactions tax, proposed to the legislature in 1939 and again in 1941. They felt that in presenting his appropriation bill he had deliberately undertaken to create a situation from which the legislators could escape only by reconsidering, voting upon, and passing the transactions tax plan which O'Daniel had authored. In the absence of any conclusive evidence to support the beliefs of the paper or Representative Hartzog, the speeches are assumed in the present study to be what the governor said they were: attempts to secure support for House Bill Number 322.

In the 1941 series O'Daniel again, as in the speeches of 1939, centered his efforts in tactics designed to enhance his own ethos and to damage the ethos of the legislators.

In the speech of March 9 O'Daniel was conciliating in his attitude toward the new legislature and asked only that they vote to get his bill out of committee where it

had been frozen since shortly after its presentation on February 10. In the speech of March 16 O'Daniel sought to embarrass the representatives by making support of his bill the test of their allegiance to the people who elected them. The three speeches which followed were appeals to the people to write their representatives, urging them to support the O'Daniel bill. The final speech revealed to the audience that O'Daniel had been urged by the legislature to resign his office to run for that of United States Senator. The speech was in the nature of a conditional acceptance and specified certain projects which would have to be terminated before the governor would consider that his present job was done. It represented O'Daniel's final and successful attempt to coerce the legislature into passing the tax bill needed to terminate the social security problem.

In the speeches O'Daniel showed a marked preference for causal and deductive reasoning. As in the 1939 series he frequently expressed deductive inferences as rhetorical questions. His most convincing argument occurred in the April 6 speech in which he reasoned from testimony, statistics, and historical facts. For the most part O'Daniel seemed to feel that he was under no obligation to logically validate his contentions. He argued from fallacious

premises and he produced scant or generalized supportive material. His arguments were convincing in such instances only to people who were willing to accept his word as authority. The March 30 speech was unique in that it was developed entirely by means of eight letters from radio listeners, with interspersing running comment by the governor.

Motive appeals which O'Daniel used most often were duty and security. They gave strong support to his logical contentions and were of great importance in the development of his themes. O'Daniel made no direct appeals to the legislators. As in the speeches of 1939 threats of reprisal at the polls were again a part of the governor's tactics of persuasion. In the final speech expediency was the motive which he used as a means of forcing a deal with the House: a pension bill for his resignation.

The speeches of 1941 were not as complex and involved as the speeches of 1939. Noticeable characteristics of O'Daniel's style were: concrete, image-evoking and emotional words, rhetorical questions, parallel structure, and restatement. To emphasize, dramatize, and amplify his contentions the governor sometimes used antithesis, illustrations, and short, didactic sentences. In the speech of March 23 he

used both climax and suspense to create interest in his bill.

In three of the broadcasts music and poetry shared air time with political speeches. As entertainment they helped to prove O'Daniel's good will for his listeners. They were also useful as a means of emphasizing certain themes or certain desirable attributes of the speaker.

In the 1941 speeches O'Daniel did not use the 1939 signature words "Happiness and Prosperity." He did not make repeated references to his religious inclinations. Only in the speeches of March 9 and March 16 did he make a plea for church attendance.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

To evaluate properly the effectiveness of the fourteen speeches included in the study it is necessary to consider them from two standpoints: (1) the extent to which they contributed to the solution of the social security problem in Texas; and (2) the extent to which they furthered O'Daniel's personal political career.

There seems little doubt that O'Daniel's speaking in the fourteen addresses was a causal factor in the ultimate solution of the social security problem. The difficulty in analyzing O'Daniel's influence in the matter comes in attempting to decide whether or not the radio addresses actually delayed passage of social security legislation.

It is significant that O'Daniel was unable to secure the passage of either a constitutional amendment or a statute for financing the social security services of the state until the Senate vacancy was opened by the death of Morris Sheppard. For two and a half years O'Daniel and the legislature had been involved in a deadlock with respect to the social security issue. On the very day following the death of

Senator Sheppard the members drafted a resolution petitioning O'Daniel to resign the office of governor to fill out the unexpired senatorial post. Even though O'Daniel refused to take an appointment to the Senate he did leave himself open for entry in the race. He named certain conditions upon which his interest in the senatorial post depended. First on his list was a pension tax measure. Within a week the Morris omnibus bill had been passed in both the House and Senate and was signed into law by O'Daniel.

It would therefore seem that Senator Sheppard's death and the resultant legislative resolution gave O'Daniel a superb opportunity for placing one final thrust of pressure on the members who for two sessions had refused all the bills he had advocated. It would also seem that O'Daniel's chief contribution to the solution of the social security problem lay in his tactics of coercion and intimidation. It is reasonable to assume that the governor's weekly radio broadcasts, in which he denounced his opponents in the legislature, had made members of the House and Senate uncomfortable. The governor's public exposure of the legislative voting record, and the subsequent flood of letters from their constituents at home, must also have caused many a Senator and Representative to wonder about his future in politics. It seems obvious that the legislature finally

passed a bill as an inducement to O'Daniel to vacate his office and the state. The Dallas Morning News frankly declared the legislative action "a scheme to be rid of O'Daniel at any cost."<sup>1</sup> In such case credit must be given to O'Daniel for the passage of a tax bill which put the social security program of Texas on a workable basis at last. It was his speaking which had created the unpleasant climate which made the legislature willing to strike a bargain with him: a pension tax bill in exchange for his resignation.

As an opportunist O'Daniel saw the wisdom of accepting the legislature's terms. His triumph, however, had its painful aspects. In the first place he had boasted that he was going to run the politicians out of Austin and now it seemed that it was he who, under the guise of a promotion, was being asked to go. Moreover, the bill which the legislature passed on April 28 was one which O'Daniel had fought for two legislative sessions.

It is extremely difficult to understand the reasons behind some of O'Daniel's behavior. His attitude toward the sales tax is a case in point. Throughout his first

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<sup>1</sup>cf. Chapter VI, p. 294.

campaign he declared he was against a sales tax; yet his own bill, rejected almost immediately, was claimed by many to be a form of sales tax. The bill which he supported in 1939, Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, was a sales tax bill. On the other hand O'Daniel fought the Morris bill in 1941 even though it represented a tax on natural resources and would have obtained sufficient funds to pay the social security obligations. To make the situation even more complicated the Morris Bill of 1941 was modelled on Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve of 1939. Although O'Daniel in 1939 had supported Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, in 1941 he gave as one of his reasons for disapproving of the Morris bill the fact that it was too much like "that stinking Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve."

The bill finally enacted into law was one which in some form had been before the legislature since early in O'Daniel's first term of office. It was, moreover, passed immediately upon O'Daniel's statement that he would consider running for United States Senator if he could satisfactorily terminate the social security issue. It therefore seems that there can be no doubt that the feud between the governor and the legislature was definitely responsible

for the delay in solving the social security impasse. Nor is it possible to absolve O'Daniel of a major role in the feud. He came to Austin intent upon ridding the state of its professional politicians. He initiated pressure on the legislators almost immediately. In his April 2 speech he threatened to expose their voting record. In subsequent speeches he made good his threat and even went so far as to say he would take the stump all over Texas to assure the defeat of all members who refused to cooperate with him in his attempts to raise money to finance the pension program. After the April 2 speech there was a noticeable solidifying of legislative resistance to any proposal of the governor. Relations between O'Daniel and the members were further strained during the summer and fall of 1939 when he refused to call a special session, in spite of requests and petitions from individuals and organizations that he do so, and in spite of the threat of impeachment if he failed to yield in the matter. In 1941 O'Daniel put additional strain upon the relations between himself and the legislators by presenting a bill which the members could not in good conscience pass and then making its passage the test of legislative responsibility and integrity. So unreasonable was O'Daniel's attitude with

reference to his 1941 bill that observers felt the bill and the speeches in its defense were in reality manifestations of a ruse designed by the governor to force passage of the measure he really wanted: his own transactions tax bill.

There were indications in the speeches of 1941 that O'Daniel was plotting further pressure against the legislature. He repeatedly told the people that he had done all he could to bring the social security problem to a satisfactory termination, that it looked as if the session again was going to end in failure, and that any further action would have to be between them and their representatives. He seemed to be leading them to some decisive step when he told them: "I believe in a Democracy that the people should work out their own plans"; also when he asked: "How long do you think a great free people like we have here in Texas are going to put up with this kind of deceit and deception?" He told them: "This is YOUR state. It is up to you to decide what to do."

If O'Daniel was indeed plotting further attacks against the legislators he never carried them out. For with the death of Senator Sheppard destiny provided a solution to the governor-legislature deadlock, and O'Daniel apparently saw it as a means of escaping with dignity from a situation which was

becoming painful in the extreme. If he had hoped to see the social security problem solved by a bill of his own devising, he was obliged to abandon that hope. He was moreover obliged to accept as a substitute a measure which he had bitterly opposed. Since impeachment was an ever-present possibility, he probably felt that he was fortunate in being able to leave office as governor with his standing with the people still intact.

O'Daniel's real success as a public speaker lay in his ability to maintain the respect, confidence, and loyal support of his listeners, the voters of Texas and his partners in his plot against the legislature. When he intimated in February of 1940 that he would again be a candidate for the office of governor in the coming election, newspapers predicted his defeat. They were of the opinion that O'Daniel, by his inability to influence the vote of the legislature, and by his refusal in the summer of 1939 to call a special session, had damaged his relations with the voters.<sup>2</sup> O'Daniel's audience on election day proved that the newspapers erred in their judgment, and that the people of Texas forgave their governor his inconsistencies, vagaries, stub-

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<sup>2</sup>Austin Statesman, July 25, 1940.

bornness, rudeness, and crudeness. O'Daniel actually increased his majority over the 1939 record vote, while two thirds of the legislators who had opposed him went down to defeat.<sup>3</sup>

Further evidence of O'Daniel's powerful radio appeal exists in the record of his successful race for the senatorial post left vacant by the death of Senator Morris Sheppard. In the race O'Daniel was pitted against one of the most formidable professional politicians in United States history: Lyndon Baines Johnson. In spite of this fact O'Daniel refused to campaign, except by means of his weekly radio speeches. He finally made a last-minute tour of the state and defeated Johnson for the Senate on July 14, 1941.<sup>4</sup>

A year later, O'Daniel was faced with the regular election for the United States Senate on July 29, 1942. This time he was opposed by two former Texas governors,

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<sup>3</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Democratic primary of 1940 in the Headquarters of the Texas Democratic Party, Austin, Texas

<sup>4</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Special Senatorial Election of 1941 in the office of the Texas Secretary of State, Austin, Texas.



Dan Moody and James V. Allred. Once again O'Daniel defeated both candidates, although he was forced into a run-off with Allred.<sup>5</sup> O'Daniel was busy in Washington and he continued to use his radio addresses as his principal campaign method. He easily defeated Allred in the run-off in August, 1942.<sup>6</sup>

It must be remembered that O'Daniel never had a campaign manager, except his wife and personal secretary, no statewide organization backing him, and almost no newspaper support. He did have the use of network radio broadcasting as a means of maintaining contact with the voters. It was all he needed. He had said when he entered public life that he would fight the political machine with his own machine, the microphone.<sup>7</sup> By its use, with almost no other aid, he was four times victorious in his efforts to achieve high political office.

What was the secret of O'Daniel's influence with the people? Certainly it had little to do with logical reasoning. O'Daniel was no logician and all too often he reasoned from false or generalized or deceptive premises, and his

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<sup>5</sup>Official Certification of the Texas Democratic Primary of 1942 in the Headquarters of the Texas Democratic Party, Austin, Texas.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>cf. Chapter V., p. 109.

arguments frequently did not justify his conclusions. He rarely forwarded sufficient specific evidence to validate his contentions. Often his arguments were nothing more than unsubstantiated allegations or speculative personal opinions.

He did, however, employ the ethical and emotional modes of persuasion with skill and cunning and it was almost altogether through these means that he was able to maintain rapport with his audience, to lead thought, and to move to action.

O'Daniel was at his best in maintaining rapport with his general audience of devoted radio fans. In contrast to his harshness with the legislators O'Daniel was habitually gentle, courteous, complimentary, and respectful in his attitude toward the listeners. He never talked down to them. He paid them the compliment of speaking their own idiomatic language and he addressed them in a neighborly manner as "friends", "you folks" or "you all." He dignified their lives by giving them to understand that they were an important part of the state government and that they had a definite role to play in his plan to secure funds to finance the social security services. On occasion he elevated them to a position above his own, indicating that as "sovereign voters" they were "supreme," whereas he was merely their

servant. He calimed that whatever the citizens of Texas said or did was right with him.

To assure acceptance for his contentions O'Daniel relied heavily on his personal image. He was careful therefore to live up to the people's conception of him as a devout Christian, a kind and sympathetic man, a champion of the poor and needy, and a dedicated and reliable leader. He made repeated references to his religious convictions, emphasized his faith through the inclusion in his programs of old-fashioned hymns, mentioned churches that he would attend, and urged his listeners to go to church regularly. He told the people he prayed for them and asked for their prayers for himself and for the members of his family. In one instance he read a telegram from a minister as evidence of his good standing with the clergy.

O'Daniel showed his sympathy and kindness by frequent expressions of concern for the plight of the old and needy. Sometimes he related with the old and lonely through musical numbers as in the song "Rocking Alone in an Old Rocking Chair" in the March 19, 1939 speech. Sometimes he used a reading for the same purpose. In the speech of September 24, 1939 he used both music and readings to show his reverence for motherhood and sympathy for those who had

lost sons in World War One.

O'Daniel tried to prove that his listeners' faith in him as a reliable and dedicated champion of the old and needy was justified. He not only expressed his concern for the "dire predicament" of the unpaid pensioners, but he did his best to do something about their state. He took the fight for a pension tax bill to the enemy in his second speech from the Governor's Mansion and he continued regularly thereafter to battle with the legislators in the interest of the potential pensioners of Texas. He assured the people in his speech of April 2, 1939 that he did not start a fight and then quit and he gave consistent evidence in his attacks on the legislators that he meant what he said. Over and over again he told them that he was not interested in politics, that he had no selfish motives to serve, and that he was only concerned in getting aid for those who needed it.

To lead the thought of the people O'Daniel sought to convince them that they had been deluded, exploited, and cheated by the deliberate machinations of deceptive, conniving, and dishonest legislators. He told the people the legislators, by failing to pass a pension tax bill, had ignored the solemn mandate of the people who in 1935

had voted the social security obligations into law. By making campaign promises to vote Social Security legislation and later refusing to do so he said they had made "a political football" out of an issue vitally important to many of the good citizens of Texas. By rejecting Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve in 1939 he said the legislators had denied the voters the right and privilege of making final decision on the destiny of the bill. In addition, he said, the members had cost the taxpayers \$800,000 in the course of their long and fruitless session. They were, he asserted or implied, a group of self-seekers who were not worthy of their hire or the high position to which the people had elevated them. In his 1941 speeches he brought the ignominy of the legislators home to the people by declaring that they had voted an appropriation bill to pay their own salaries and expenses during the session but were unwilling to vote an appropriation to pay the pensioners in the same way. They had, he said, "let the old folks down."

To move the people to action, O'Daniel emphasized their position in the governmental system. In motive appeals to duty and security and pride in citizenship he urged them to support his tactics of coercion and

intimidation by contacting their legislators and making personal appeals for support of the bills which O'Daniel advocated. He reminded them that they were his partners in his plan to secure money to finance the pension program, and that without their aid he could do nothing. To prove that he put a value on their role he gave them a definite task. He would let them know who was friend and who was foe among the legislators. They must apply the pressure which would assure the success of their plot against the legislators. After the failure of the 1939 pension program, O'Daniel fanned the peoples' anger against the legislators. He told them the members, by their failure to pass Senate Joint Resolution Number Twelve, had deprived the voters of their constitutional rights to make a final decision on the fate of the bill. He implied that they should retaliate at the polls against the resistant representatives, not only to avenge their personal slight but also to assure a more cooperative legislature in the 1941 session. In the 1941 speeches he seemed intent upon moving the people to some concerted action against the legislators but the sudden, unexpected, and propitious passage of a pension tax bill on April 28 made further coercion of the legislators unnecessary.

Stylistic devices made an important contribution to O'Daniel's tactics of persuasion. His word choice, being simple, familiar, and colorful, enabled him to relate easily, immediately, and pleasantly to his listeners. He used rhetorical questions both for emphasis and for leading thought. He found them particularly valuable as a means of leading thought by implication in instances where he did not wish to make outright accusations or declarations. For emphasis he habitually used restatement. For emphasis and dramatic effect and added interest he occasionally used climax, suspense, antithesis, and short didactic sentences.

Music and readings were an integral part of the governor's persuasive technique. It has already been shown that he used songs and poetry as a means of emphasizing certain contentions and to enhance his ethos with the people. He also used music to create particular moods, as a filler on the occasions when his speech was short, and as introductions, transitions, and as endings to programs. By the use of his own compositions he not only revealed his own intelligence and creativity but in the songs of Texas themes he showed his love and respect for his adopted state.

A final appraisal of the speaking in the fourteen speeches covered in the study is that O'Daniel was successful in accomplishing his dual purpose of securing passage

of a social security tax bill, and of furthering his own political career. He accomplished his first purpose by so annoying and irritating the legislators that they finally made an unspoken but mutually understood pact to pass a bill if O'Daniel would resign his office. He accomplished his second purpose by maintaining close and constant contact with his listeners by means of radio, and by convincing them that he was their best hope and their dedicated and devoted champion. As a result of the tactics employed in the first case, the Morris omnibus bill was passed on April 28, 1941. As a result of the tactics employed in the second case, O'Daniel's influence over his followers remained undiminished throughout his eight years in political life and enabled him to emerge victorious from every campaign into which he entered during this period. Examination of the speeches in the light of subsequent consequences indicates that the same tactics which drove the legislature to make a bargain of mutual expediency with O'Daniel were also responsible for the long delay in securing a satisfactory settlement of the social security problem in Texas.



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Personal Interview with Reuben Williams, September 7, 1967.

Personal Interview with Felix McKnight, July 3, 1967.

Personal Interview with A. M. Herman, June 8, 1967.

Personal Interview with Joe Fooshee, July 24, 1967.

Personal Interview with Edmonds Travis, July 26, 1967.

Texas Surveys of Public Opinion, Austin, Texas, March, 1941.

## AUTOBIOGRAPHY

James T. Yauger was born October 31, 1930, in Wichita Falls, Texas. He received his elementary education in Wichita Falls and was graduated from the Wichita Falls Senior High School, Wichita Falls, Texas, in May 1948.

In September, 1948 he entered Hardin Junior College. After completing two years study at Hardin Junior College, he entered Texas Christian University where he received the degree of Bachelor of Fine Arts in Speech-Radio-Drama in June, 1952. In June, 1952, he enrolled in the Graduate School at Midwestern University and completed the Master of Education Degree in 1956.

In 1956 he accepted a teaching position at Wichita Falls Senior High School where he remained until 1964.

In 1964 he enrolled in the Graduate School at Louisiana State University where he commenced work toward the doctorate. He continued to work toward the doctorate in the years 1965-1968.




## EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: James T. Yauger

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of Selected Radio Speeches of Governor W. Lee  
O'Daniel of Texas in Behalf of Social Security Legislation, 1939-1941.

Approved:

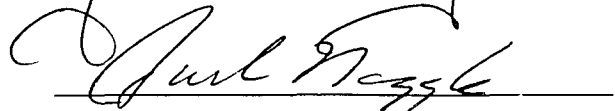
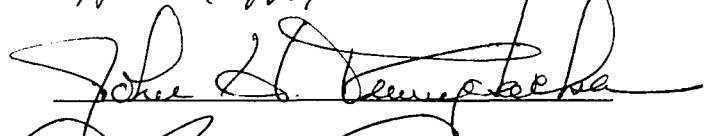
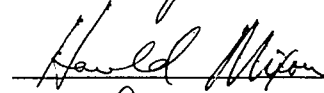
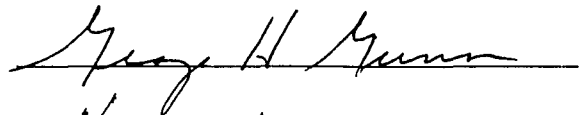


Major Professor and Chairman



Dean of the Graduate School

### EXAMINING COMMITTEE:



Date of Examination:

July 17, 1968